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THE

QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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Art. I.—THE COST OF GOVERNMENT.

1. *Finance Accounts of the United Kingdom for the year ended March 31, 1905.* (Commons Papers, 200 of 1905.)
2. *Statistical Abstract for the United Kingdom, 1890 to 1904.* Fifty-second number. 1905. (Cd. 2622.)
3. *Gross Public Income and Expenditure in the year ended March 31, 1905.* (Commons Papers, 135 of 1905.)
4. *Annual Reports of the Local Government Boards for England, Scotland, and Ireland.* (Cd. 2661, 2514, 2655.)
5. *Local Taxation Returns, 1903–4.* (No. 285 of 1905.)
6. *Royal Commission on Local Taxation. Reports and Minutes of Evidence.* 1899. (C. 9141, 9142, etc.)
7. *Annual Reports, Estimates, and Accounts of Receipts and Expenditure of the London County Council.* (Nos. 814, 877, 879.)
8. *Some Aspects of National Finance.* By Edgar Speyer. (Read before the Institute of Bankers, July 7, 1905.)
9. *The Rake's Progress in Finance.* By J. W. Cross. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood, 1905.
10. *National Finance: an Imminent Peril.* By T. Gibson Bowles, M.P. London: Fisher Unwin, 1904.

And other parliamentary and official papers.

THE famous Vatican sculpture of Laocoon and his sons being strangled by huge serpents, while embodying an ancient Greek myth, is an emblem of the modern British taxpayer. Repeated and reasonable complaints are made that public imposts have reached the breaking-point. What was once contemptuously described as an 'ignorant impatience of taxation' has far more to be urged in its behalf than official persons and statisticians suppose.

The average householder, called upon to meet what appear to be insatiable demands for taxes and rates, asks whether he obtains value for money. He has only dim perceptions of how it is disbursed. He abandons as hopeless all attempts to understand the mysteries of administration or to fathom the bottomless pit of expenditure. He reads in the daily papers of millions being voted by a handful of members in the House of Commons in a few minutes, and with little or no discussion, for purposes said to be imperative. He may take a casual glance at one of the plethoric blue-books issued by the ton every year; but the details are bewildering, and the columns of figures repellent. He sees gigantic edifices arising in White-hall, and is told that they are intended to accommodate hundreds of clerks in some branch of Dickens's 'circumlocution office.' He is confronted all over the country by palatial structures known as town-halls, municipal buildings, asylums, hospitals, union-houses, infirmaries, pauper village-schools, and public buildings of various kinds. Their origin, methods of work, and the practical results, are beyond his comprehension. But the unpleasant facts remain that he is paying a war income-tax of a shilling in the pound in a time of peace; that he is assessed for house-duty at eightpence on his rack-rental in addition to a shilling in the pound as property-tax if he happens to own his house; that the indirect imposts on tea and other necessaries are irritating; and that, taking the country as a whole, his local rates have increased fifty per cent. in twenty years, and show no signs of abatement. Less than a generation ago, rates and taxes were about one sixth of the rent, except in villages, where the proportion was less; they now average nearly one half the rental, and they threaten to equal it in amount.

In his trenchant pamphlet, 'National Finance: an Imminent Peril,' Mr T. Gibson Bowles, M.P., shows, perhaps with some rhetorical embellishment, how expenditure has increased in recent years, how indebtedness has been piled up, and how confused is our financial system. The pretended checks upon extravagance are inadequate, as is the theoretical control of the House of Commons. The national balance-sheet is complicated and unscientific; and the effect of this is to conceal the

actual facts. A comparison of the returns and reports shows that the grand total of Exchequer receipts and payments is far larger than is commonly supposed. The total revenue from customs, excise, income-tax, stamps, and other sources during the year that ended March 31, 1905, according to the Finance Accounts, was 143,370,404*l.*, against 96,162,600*l.* in 1894-5, not including temporary loans contracted and repaid and adjustments of accounts, which bring up the aggregate Treasury receipts for the last year to 225,731,327*l.* The budget estimate for 1905-6 is 142,454,000*l.* The principal disbursements during the last financial year were:—

	£
Army	29,224,900
Navy	36,830,000
Civil Service	27,450,000
National debt interest, etc.	27,000,000
Civil list, etc.	1,608,620
Customs and inland revenue	3,093,000
Post-office and telegraphs	15,593,000
Capital expenditure on national and military works, etc.	8,069,092
Advances repaid	67,753,000

The last item represents sums which are being constantly raised as temporary loans to meet emergencies, and repaid as taxes come in, to be borrowed again; and so on perpetually. The annual 'Return of Public Income and Expenditure,' usually issued in August, and commonly known as Sir Henry Fowler's, gives figures differing from those above, by deducting from both sides the Post-office receipts and expenditure, and certain items connected with the national debt and the Civil Service, with the grants-in-aid of local taxation. These, however, are mere matters of bookkeeping; and the actual results are those we have cited. A grave danger arises from the abandonment of the sound rule established by the Act of 1866, that all receipts and payments should be directly with the Exchequer, instead of large sums being intercepted and appropriated, to an extent of 22,000,000*l.* last year, or nearly double the amount of ten years ago. The aggregate expenditure is as follows:—

1886-1895	902,209,158
1896-1905	1,440,835,126
Increase	<hr/> 538,625,968

THE COST OF GOVERNMENT

Within the last ten years the growth has been 45·5 per cent., the various spending departments showing an increase as follows, comparing 1905 with 1895: the army 61·5 per cent., the navy 60·3, education 60·2, other branches of the Civil Service 26·8, collection of customs 7·6, collection of inland revenue 31·4, Post-office 52·7, and telegraphs 73·9. Owing to the amounts involved, the largest and most rapid expansion is in the naval and military services, the growth of which may be thus exhibited, as a matter of statistics, and without trenching upon questions of policy:—

	1884-5.	1894-5.	1904-5.
Navy. . . .	£ 11,738,661	£ 17,195,645	£ 36,830,000
Army	18,905,074	17,813,393	29,224,099
Total	30,643,735	35,009,038	66,054,099

The increase during the last decade is 31,045,961*l.*, and during the twenty years, 35,411,264*l.*, or 90 and 115 per cent. respectively. The approximate sum to be expended on military works during the current year is 2,915,000*l.*

Certain questions here occur, which ought to be seriously pondered. Does the country receive a commensurate return for the money? Is this enormous annual and increasing premium an adequate protection for the Empire? Are we prepared for eventualities and complications abroad? Speaking in the House of Lords last July, and at various public functions, Earl Roberts declared that our military forces are not in a position to do the work expected of them. He said that the Boer war had shown the grave imperfections of the military machine, but that nothing had been done to rectify them since the conclusion of peace. Except that the officers and men have had experience of actual warfare, we are as unprepared as we notoriously were in 1899. With the remedies for this condition of things, as suggested by Earl Roberts, the present article is not concerned. The immediate point is that, notwithstanding the enormous and constantly increasing outlay on our military forces, they are proclaimed, on the highest authority, to be inadequate and inefficient.

Recent reports of the Comptroller and Auditor-General call attention to grave defects in the military system; but the reports are seldom noticed in Parliament, and are never discussed seriously. The same remark applies to the reports made to the House of Commons by the Public Accounts Committee. In its report issued last July, that Committee strongly condemns the Admiralty for spending in the previous year no less a sum than 160,000*l.* on the refit of vessels about to be sold as of no further use in the navy. It adds that this amount had not increased the value of the ships, because they are sold for breaking-up, and fetch little more than the price of old iron. 'Your Committee cannot too strongly condemn so extravagant a policy.' It is also pointed out that the actual expenditure on the navy in 1903-4 was 97,950*l.* beyond the budget and a supplementary estimate. Of this sum, 20,000*l.* were used in the extension of Chatham Dockyard—the total cost being 4,500,000*l.*—without being referred to the Accountant-General, and without the sanction of the Treasury. 'Your Committee are of opinion that the Admiralty were mistaken, and that they had no power to exceed the 50,000*l.* taken for the year. The Treasury and the Comptroller and Auditor-General concur in this view.'

Similar opinions have been repeatedly placed on record in former years, respecting both the Admiralty and the War Office; yet the condemned practice goes on. Viscount Esher, Admiral Sir John Fisher, and Sir G. Sydenham Clarke, sitting in 1904 as a committee to enquire into the financial methods of the War Office, wrote: 'They do not induce to economy in peace; they directly promote waste in war; and they tend, at all times, to combine the maximum of friction with the minimum of efficiency.' The newly-appointed Army Council has made important changes and devised new methods, the results of which must be awaited. One evil that needs abatement is the presenting of Supplementary Estimates. They amounted in the last financial year to 4,610,000*l.* against 655,189*l.* in 1894-5. Unforeseen contingencies may compel an occasional and limited resort to the practice; but it has come to be the rule, not the exception. After Parliament has approved of what professes to be a definitive budget for the year, it is asked at a later period to sanction further outlay of a rapidly-increasing amount. Allied to this is

the objectionable practice of asking for large votes of credit. Formerly these were limited both in extent and in time. The invariable usage was for ministers to ask, and for Parliament to grant, a sum of two or three or four millions, to provide for a month's extraordinary outlay, or sometimes for two months. Recently, sums of ten and even twenty millions have been so voted for periods extending over four or five months.

The control of the House of Commons over the national purse has been still further impaired by the growing practice of making expenditure a permanent charge on the Consolidated Fund, and by an increasing proportion of permanent revenue being levied under specific Acts of Parliament. The habit of withdrawing from annual discussion and revision about one half of the public revenue and expenditure is a striking instance of the manner in which parliamentary control has been weakened. It may be urged, in reply, that the annual Appropriation Act provides adequate security, inasmuch as every money grant is assigned to a specific purpose. The theory is that money voted for a particular object must not be diverted, and that no other sums than those actually voted shall be applied to any purpose whatever. But the practice is not in accordance with this theory. The Public Accounts and Charges Act, 1891, gives the Treasury power to authorise the application of receipts by the various departments, under the name of Appropriations-in-aid. These amounted in 1894-5 to 7,000,000*l.*, and in 1904-5 to 13,000,000*l.* Moreover, a clause in the Appropriation Act enables the Treasury to authorise, in the case of the army and navy, the transference to other purposes of money voted for particular objects. The sums thus diverted in 1902-3, as shown by the Appropriation Act, 1904, exceeded 2,500,000*l.* It is true that the sanction of Parliament has to be obtained subsequently; but the condoning resolution is never submitted until twelve or more months have elapsed, and then usually at the close of a session, when many members have left, and those who remain are impatient to get away. This amounts to a virtual repeal of the Appropriation Act, by varying its provisions and permitting the substitution of a Treasury allocation, which may or may not be justifiable.

Standing Orders of the House of Commons are con-

stantly being altered and expanded, as if with the design to lessen control over the public expenditure. One of the most recent of such orders limits discussion in supply to twenty-three days, after which any votes remaining are dealt with automatically. The complaint made was that time was wasted by quibbling criticism of petty details; but an effectual check could have been devised for this. A remedy was proposed in July 1903 by the Committee on National Expenditure, on a suggestion by Mr Gibson Bowles, that an Estimates Committee should be annually appointed to examine the four classes of money votes, and to report prior to the supply stage of procedure. It also recommended that an opportunity should be afforded every year for discussing the valuable reports of the Committee on Public Accounts, which are at present merely printed and left to fate or chance. Both these recommendations, though favourably received and constantly pressed, remain merely recommendations.

In the United States Congress, of which cabinet ministers cannot be members, official heads of the spending departments have to appear before the respective committees of the Senate and the House of Representatives, to present documentary evidence in support of appropriations, and to be subjected to rigid examination by way of proof. The only methods of restoring a financial equilibrium are a large reduction of expenditure, or the imposing of further taxation. The latter plan is practically impossible. Severe retrenchment by the spending departments, and rigid economy in every branch of the public service, with a stern resolve to incur no more financial obligations for a time, are imperatively demanded.

In addition to the national expenditure, that for local purposes amounted for 1902-3, the date of the last available return for the whole of the United Kingdom, to £152,291,314*l.* The figures of a decade previously are appended for comparison (see page 8). The grants-in-aid, being part of the estate-duty, and certain customs and excise allocations of beer and spirit duties and licences, are included in the Exchequer accounts in the present article, and must not therefore be again brought into the general total of the taxpayer's and ratepayer's burden. Local expenditure now exceeds national; a generation ago the former was less than half the latter.

THE COST OF GOVERNMENT

	1892-3.	1902-3.
England and Wales . . .	£ 67,548,653	129,206,784
Scotland	9,754,360	16,647,000
Ireland	4,746,458	6,437,530
	82,049,471	152,291,314
Less imperial grants-in-aid	10,643,810	16,246,000
Net amount	71,405,661	136,045,314

The grave question of imperial and local indebtedness demands notice. During the past ten years the Sinking Fund has been suspended; new loans have been contracted; and the unfunded or floating debt has been enormously increased. Terminable annuities, Treasury bills, Exchequer bonds, temporary advances from the Bank of England, with other expedients, are resorted to. The items on March 31, 1905, were as follows:—

	£
Funded debt	635,682,863
Terminable annuities capitalised	47,756,246
Treasury bills	21,133,000
Exchequer bonds	20,500,000
War stock and bonds	30,000,000
Other liabilities	41,664,382
Total	796,766,491

This is almost identical with the amount in 1886—796,913,125*l.*—since which time considerable reductions have been made by the Sinking Fund; and it is an increase of 130,000,000*l.* in ten years. The most serious matter, apart from the suspension of the Sinking Fund, is the unfunded debt, now amounting to 71,500,000*l.*, or quadruple the amount of a decade ago. The funded debt has risen in the same period from 586,015,919*l.* to 635,682,863*l.*, in addition to the 30,000,000*l.* of war stock and bonds, issued on the understanding that the Transvaal should contribute a like amount. Moreover, there were capital liabilities outstanding on March 31, 1905, for 41,000,000*l.* on account of barracks, naval and military works, telegraphs, the Uganda railway, and other obligations incurred under recent Acts of Parliament. There are also contingent or nominal liabilities in con-

nexion with the Courts of Justice, unclaimed dividends, savings-banks, and other matters, amounting to 50,000,000*l.* more, and loans guaranteed by the British Government, including local loans, stock, and bonds, and Irish land purchase, which together come to 214,000,000*l.* Adding these items, and deducting assets of 32,974,943*l.*, chiefly Suez Canal shares, and 7,500,000*l.* of cash in the Treasury, we find that the aggregate national liability exceeds 1,000,000,000*l.* Such figures give cause for reflection.

The effect on the national credit is seen in the fall in the price of Consols, from 114 in 1896, to 89 at the present time. During the interval they have been as low as 85, at which price bankers and other large holders now write them down as assets. Instead of the nominal two and a half per cent. to which the interest on Consols was reduced, the Treasury now has to pay a little over three per cent. for Treasury bills; and, in the event of a great and sudden disturbance of the money market, as in a European war, money would have to be raised on more stringent terms. In like manner, excessive colonial and local borrowing has done much to lessen credit and to restrict monetary facilities. Bankers do not view with favour the enormous indebtedness contracted on the security of rates. It is not surprising that financial authorities have sounded a note of warning, and that trustees and investors who have to consider the question of security have lost much of their former confidence in corporation stocks. In many places, municipal debts are twice or thrice the assessable value. They are four-fold in Bolton, Bradford, Leeds, Nottingham, Oldham, and Stockport; fivefold in Birmingham, Halifax, Manchester, and Rochdale; and six and a half times in Huddersfield. The time has surely arrived for calling a halt in the matter of loans, whether for national or local purposes. Nothing is easier than to borrow; but the day of reckoning is sure to arrive. The last published return of local indebtedness is for 1902-3, when the outstanding loans were as follows:—

	£
England and Wales	370,607,493
Scotland	51,868,613
Ireland	15,398,681
Capitalised value of terminable annuities	4,596,459
Total	<hr/> 442,471,246

If, as may be assumed, the rate of increase in recent years has been maintained, the present amount may be estimated at 490,000,000*l.*—a fivefold increase in thirty years. It is nearly half the national debt.

The abnormal growth of local debts imperatively calls for the intervention of the Legislature. Dangerous facilities for borrowing have been recklessly used. The amount was a little under 4*l.* per head of the population in 1875, but it is now over 11*l.* Certain cities have attained an unenviable notoriety for the colossal nature of their debts. Reserving London for special mention, we find that Manchester stands first among provincial cities with a debt of 20,250,000*l.*; Glasgow follows, with 16,250,000*l.*; Birmingham owes almost as much, and Liverpool owes 12,500,000*l.* The debts of Leeds, Sheffield, Bradford, Salford, Cardiff, Nottingham, Huddersfield, Leicester, and Bolton range, in the above order, from 10,500,000*l.* to 3,500,000*l.*; while those of a number of other places range from the lower figure to 1,000,000*l.* The greater part of the loans has been for sewage works and water-supply, for gas and electricity, for parks and recreation-grounds, for the erection of town-halls, schools, workhouses, infirmaries, and hospitals, for roads and tramways, for cemeteries and markets, for libraries, museums, baths and washhouses. Nevertheless, it is probable that, before the terms have expired for which these gigantic loans have been contracted, the gas and electricity works, the methods and sources of water-supply, the system of tramways, the modes of sanitation, will all be superseded, if not rendered useless, by scientific discoveries and practical developments.

A plea is constantly urged that much of this debt has been incurred for reproductive works, which it is claimed will yield, and are said to be already yielding, in part, a satisfactory return. We cannot here discuss the subject of municipal trading; but the accuracy of the facts adduced against it, though denied, has not been disproved. The boastful vaunt of alleged profits amounts to nothing in the face of the rapid increase in the rates; and figures can be made to prove anything by clever manipulation. So far as appears, none of the glowing accounts make adequate allowance for depreciation and renewal of plant and machinery and of structural works;

nor do they present a fair statement of profit and loss. The London County Council makes a great parade of the profits, as shown on paper, which are said to be derived from its tramways and steamboats, and from housing; but, besides the general objection made above, the unpleasant fact remains that the five millions of people within its area have to pay much heavier rates than they did in quite recent times. Last October the Improvements Committee brought forward an elaborate scheme for street improvements in connexion with the new system of tramways, involving an outlay of 300,000*l.* The Finance Committee proposed that only 7800*l.* of this should be charged to the account of tramways; the huge remainder being included under various other heads of disbursement. In the course of a year or two the boast will, doubtless, be made that a profit of many thousands has been realised on these tramways, although nearly the whole of the 300,000*l.* will have been charged to other accounts, without debiting interest or sinking fund to the tramways. Such a manipulation of figures is not uncommon in municipal undertakings.

The debt of the London County Council has grown by leaps and bounds. When that body was created in 1889 it took over from the Metropolitan Board of Works liabilities for 32,663,362*l.* According to the estimates for the current year, they amount to 71,587,175*l.*; an increase of nearly 6,000,000*l.* over the preceding year. The estimates include 2,170,108*l.* for interest and 1,174,247*l.* for repayment of principal. Mr A. M. Torrance, a former chairman of the London County Council, said at a meeting of that body in June 1905, 'The commitments of the Council are appalling. Its financial position is one that I look upon with certain grave doubts as to what is to be done in the future.' When the London County Council was created, fond hopes were indulged that the new body would, in some respects, supersede the old vestries and district boards, and give some relief to ratepayers. Instead of this, the older bodies, under the glorified title of Boroughs, with an expensive staff of brand-new officials, spend more than ever; and the London Council's expenditure constitutes an additional burden. That burden will become heavier if the project of building a huge Hôtel de Ville, at a cost of a million or more, is carried out. No

less than 13,000 persons find employment under the Council, exclusive of the small army of teachers and others taken over from the defunct School Board. The Council employs 313 sanitary inspectors—twice as many as ten years ago. Vicarious generosity is cheap and easy. The ratepayers' money is lavished, on the plea of popular requirements; and the Progressive party is kept in place by the votes of those who do not pay rates.

The estimated expenditure of the London County Council for 1905-6 is 9,489,355*l.*, including 4,091,442*l.* for education, being an increase of 1,180,761*l.* over the previous year. To meet two thirds of this expenditure—the remainder being derived from the Exchequer grants, rent, traffics, etc.—a rate of 1*s.* 2*d.* is being collected, with a special county rate of 3*d.* and an education rate of 1*s.* 6*d.* or 2*s.* 11*d.* altogether. The education rate has been increased from a fraction under 9*d.* since 1889-90, and the ordinary rate from 12½*d.*, in addition to borough rates and poor rates. The cost of each child per annum in the special schools is as follows: industrial 37*l.*, deaf 47*l.*, blind 60*l.*, mentally defective 87*l.*, not including any apportionment of debt and interest. The educational corps comprises 20,646 teachers, besides an unknown number of pupil-teachers, inspectors, instructors, organisers, correspondents, attendance officers, school-keepers, and cleaners. The functionary styled 'Educational Adviser' receives a salary of 1500*l.*, the Chief Executive Officer 1000*l.*, the Architect 1200*l.*, each with an assistant at 600*l.* or upwards. Under them is an administrative staff of 458 persons, drawing in all 74,567*l.* Then there is the central staff, which includes a Clerk of the Council, at 2000*l.*, a Comptroller, a Chief Engineer, another architect, and a valuer, each with a like salary, equal to that of an Under-secretary of State. Besides these, there are a Chief Officer of the Public Control Department at 1500*l.*, and a Statistical Officer at 1000*l.*, each with an assistant receiving from 500*l.* to 1000*l.*

All the appointments and disbursements are on a similar colossal and magnificent scale. Printing absorbs 35,000*l.*, and pensions 53,966*l.* During the last fourteen years no less a sum than 185,332*l.* has been spent in promoting bills in Parliament, and 78,503*l.* in opposing other bills; or 263,836*l.* in all. One third of the whole was in

connexion with a vain attempt to resist the formation of a Water Board to take over the property of the various private companies in the metropolis. That Board has a large staff of highly-paid officers, its engineer alone being solaced with 3750*l.* per annum. The members of the Board are appointed by other elected bodies, in much the same way as the Metropolitan Asylums Board, eighteen of whose members are nominated by the Local Government Board, while the poor-law unions send fifty-five representatives. The Asylums Board has seventeen infectious hospitals, five asylums for imbeciles, a training-ship, eleven special homes or schools, eight ambulance stations, and a convalescent hospital, erected in 1904 at a cost of a quarter of a million. On the last day of that year there were 12,028 inmates of the different institutions, attended by the enormous staff of 5049 persons. The total cost for the year was 1,002,198*l.*, double what it was ten years previously; and the outstanding debt amounts to 3,500,000*l.* Each pauper patient costs per week a sum ranging from 29*s.* 10*d.* in the North-western Hospital to 51*s.* 6*d.* in Grove Hospital.

Similar institutions, as lavishly managed, are to be found all over the country; and the Local Government Board is now grouping poor-law unions for the purpose of erecting 'mental hospitals' and epileptic asylums at vast expense. The London County Council is building an asylum which is estimated to cost 570,000*l.*, and will probably cost 750,000*l.* Croydon has just been compelled to erect one at a cost of nearly 250,000*l.* for 450 patients, at the rate of 550*l.* per head. It is fitted with all the appliances and luxuries deemed essential by the Lunacy Commissioners and the Local Government Board, heedless of the heavy pressure on the ratepayers. The site is three miles from a railway station—a distance which enhances the cost of construction and of supplies, and causes much inconvenience and fatigue to friends of patients on visiting days. Each of the 372 pauper inmates—who are three fourths of the whole number—costs the ratepayers 16*s.* 11*d.* per week; the average cost throughout the country being 10*s.* 5*d.*

Insane and feeble-minded paupers have increased without intermission since they were first recorded in 1873. Comparing that period with the present, we find the

numbers to be 51,253 and 109,100 respectively, an increase of 113 per cent. Insane and idiot persons formed 11·4 per cent. of the whole number of paupers, as compared with 5·8 per cent. in 1873. In relation to the population, the increase is from 2·2 to 3·2 per thousand. The total cost of maintenance of pauper lunatics, idiots, and imbeciles is 2,991,130*l.* The increase during recent years of lunacy, imbecility, epilepsy, and allied ailments is arousing the attention of physiologists and social reformers. There are obvious causes that induce such effects, just as is the case with the various forms of phthisis and scrofula. Yet the mass of people are permitted to grow up in ignorance of natural laws, and are untrained to self-control and self-respect. Far less care is exercised in the perpetuation of the human species than in the rearing of horses, cattle, and sheep, or the propagation of plants. Guardians of the poor and relieving officers are confronted every week with mournful instances of men and women mentally afflicted, or suffering from pulmonary and other fatal disorders, who bring into the world rickety, deformed, diseased, epileptic, idiot, or lunatic children; and the parents demand, as a right, that this miserable offspring shall be supported by others who are more prudent and self-denying.

The latest issue of 'Local Taxation Returns for England and Wales' is for the year ending March 31, 1903. It embraces particulars of 28,128 separate authorities. The amount received by them from all sources during the year was 129,206,784*l.*, being nearly 8,000,000*l.* more than in the previous year. As already stated, the total for the United Kingdom is 152,291,314*l.* The percentage of sources of revenue was:—

Public rates	39·0
Local taxation duties and imperial grants	10·7
Water, gas, electricity, and tramways	11·2
Loans	26·2
Tolls, dues, rents, etc.	7·5
Miscellaneous	5·4
Total	100·0

Of the 50,000,000*l.* levied in the form of direct rates—against 19,000,000*l.* levied thirty years earlier—the principal items are thus given in the 'Local Taxation Returns':—

	£
Poor rates	12,075,539
Education	6,744,173
London County Council	2,530,296
Metropolitan boroughs	3,571,241
Municipal boroughs	2,791,675
Urban district councils	14,783,119
Rural " "	2,792,325
County councils	2,247,721
City of London	516,213
Metropolitan police	988,625

The broad facts as to local rates may be summarised as follows. Over all England and Wales—where the circumstances and rules differ from those in Scotland and Ireland—the average rate in the pound in 1875 was 3s. 4d.; it is now 5s. 7d. The amount per head of the population is 30s. 6d., against 16s. 2d. in 1875. In the area comprised within Greater London, the average has risen in ten years from 4s. to 6s. 2d. in the pound. The present levy ranges from 5s. 2d. at Surbiton to 12s. at Poplar, West Ham, and Edmonton, with the certainty of increase if the present lack of employment continues to prevail in such poor and congested districts. The rates levied in various provincial towns range from 4s. 6d. in the pound in Lancaster, to 10s. 2d. in Wolverhampton. Some of the other large boroughs vary considerably.

Rates in	s. d.	Rates in	s. d.
Bath	6 3	Leeds	8 0
Bournemouth	5 0	Liverpool	7 4½
Bradford	7 10	Manchester	7 8½
Brighton	7 6	Newcastle	5 3
Croydon	7 8	Norwich	9 7
Darlington.	5 6	Portsmouth	6 4
Derby	8 0	Salford	7 10
Huddersfield	8 1½	York	7 8
Leicester	7 3		

The rateable value has also increased during twenty-five years; the tendency being upwards at each quinquennial valuation, so that growing rates are levied upon constantly rising assessments.

Rateable values in	England and Wales.	London.
1878	£ 131,021,019	£ 23,912,681
1888	149,696,812	31,005,876
1898	172,065,842	36,889,357
1904	199,355,590	41,674,071

From this it will be seen that the increase in the country at large during the period has been 52 per cent., while in the metropolis it is 75 per cent. Stated in another way, and with reference to recent years, while the population of England and Wales increased 5·1 per cent. between 1899 and 1904, the assessments rose 16 per cent., the amount of rates levied rose by 30·4 per cent., and the outstanding loans by 34·2 per cent. On this enormously enhanced assessable value the higher rates are levied, irrespective of the charge for water.

Great diversity exists also with respect to the item for education. In Eastbourne it is 3d., Cheltenham 4d., Bournemouth 4½d., Grantham, Torquay, and many other places, 5d., London 1s. 6d., Oldham 2s., Edmonton 3s., West Ham 3s. 2½d. This is in addition to 13,106,129*l.* from the Exchequer for education in Great Britain and 1,402,451*l.* in Ireland. Since supervision was thrown upon county and borough councils, the tendency has been to increased costliness, owing to the large number of new officials appointed at generous salaries, and to the insatiable demands of teachers for larger emoluments, fewer hours, longer holidays, additional pay for evening classes, and retiring pensions. When it is remembered that their duties occupy some thirty hours on five days of the week, with about seven weeks' holidays in the year, and pensions on retirement, their remuneration cannot be deemed inadequate, in comparison with that of the bulk of professional men and tradesmen.

In addition to payments of rates by individuals, either directly or in rent, the public has to provide hundreds of thousands levied by the county councils, municipal corporations, and boards of guardians on their own property and on one another. These sums, which figure in the annual accounts of local authorities—each committee or department being made to appear as paying its quota of the rates—are really paid by the whole community, but are disguised under a system of book-keeping and cross-entries, so as to make the personal levy seem less. Another objectionable feature is that the respective rating authorities do not always collect their own revenues. The design seems to be to bewilder and confuse the public. In municipalities, for instance, what is styled 'the borough rate' is collected by the overseers with

the poor rate, and is handed over to the borough treasurer. In like manner the education rate is collected as part of the poor rate by the overseers, who used to pay it to the School Board, but who now transmit it to the county or borough authority. Strictly speaking, the poor rate is a misnomer, for only a little more than one third of the amount thus collected is applied to the actual relief of the poor.

For purposes of national and local taxation, 5,000,000*l.* are exacted from railways, nearly twice as much as in 1895, although no appreciable increase in mileage has occurred. Stated in another form, rates and taxes levied upon railways have risen from 3 to 5 per cent. of the gross earnings. On the net receipts the levy is 10 per cent.; including income-tax, it is 15 per cent. A heavy toll is levied by every parish through which a railway passes, and there is a tendency to make the toll yet heavier, so as to relieve the other ratepayers. The result is incessant litigation and heavy costs. If Local Government auditors were to disallow charges of the kind, unless ample cause were shown, local functionaries would not be so ready to plunge into the thorny, uncertain, but expensive intricacies of the law in their attempts to increase the burdens upon the railways. Moreover, by adding to the fixed charges, the cost of conveying passengers and goods is enhanced, and the community at large has to suffer. It must be remembered that railways, docks, limited companies, and all great trading corporations, though contributing vast sums to local rates, are unrepresented on the local bodies that impose the burdens, and have no voice in their election. The Holborn Borough Council issued a statement last June that 28·3 per cent. of the rates are paid in respect of premises owned by limited companies, for which no names appear on the list of voters.

Within recent years, upwards of two hundred measures have been placed upon the Statute-book, giving further powers to county, borough, and urban district councils, and other local administrative bodies, always, however, in theory, subject to the control of the Local Government Board, or of some central office. It would be easier to enumerate the subjects, comparatively few in number, that do not come within the scrutiny of the official Argus,

than to furnish a complete list of the multifarious and diversified matters in daily life that are now controlled. Numerous provisional orders, having all the force of law, are constantly issued from Whitehall. These involve inquiries, inspection, correspondence, recording, minuting, reporting, notices, and prosecutions on the part of a large and costly staff of officials, at the expense of the taxpayers and ratepayers. The modern tendency is to widen the area of government and to inaugurate an era of universal supervision. Englishmen, however, are not likely to consent to the adoption of methods that prevail in France, Germany, and Russia, where bureaucracy and officialism are rampant. They view with alarm the growing numbers and increasing cost of public functionaries. For every shilling disbursed in the actual relief of the poor, seventeen pence are absorbed in establishment charges. Poor-law officials, though appointed and paid by the guardians, are in the habit of appealing from their legitimate masters to that nebulous body, the Local Government Board, for the protection of what are deemed vested rights and interests; and usually they appeal with success. Like the members of the Civil Service, they have formed themselves into powerful trade-unions; and they employ their voting influence, both parliamentary and local, for their pecuniary advantage. Their salaries and allowances are on a generous scale; and their pensions are regulated by an Act passed in 1896 as the result of their agitation. The small sums deducted from their salaries for the superannuation fund are wholly incommensurate with the substantial benefits derived. The parliamentary committee of the National Association of Poor-law Officers is appealing for 2000*l.* to assist in the return to the House of Commons of a representative of the service. One of the latest demands of medical officers of health is that they shall be irremovable by those who appoint and pay them; just as vaccination officers often set their local employers at defiance, and take their orders from the Local Government Board. District surveyors, also, are clothed with dangerous powers; and their fees are calculated on an extravagant scale.

In July 1905 a meeting, called by the Municipal Officers' Association in the Inns of Court Hotel, was attended by delegates from all parts of the country, representing borough and county engineers, medical officers

of health, sanitary inspectors, poor-law officials, and others. It was resolved to form a National Association of Local Government Officers, 'to be mainly instrumental in securing superannuation and fixity of tenure, and to encourage the formation and working of district or local associations or guilds.' It is not too much to say that many local governing bodies are virtually 'run' by the officials, where the elected members are not intelligent enough or courageous enough to be their own masters. The census of 1901 revealed a growth, in the decennium, of 37·3 per cent. in the number of persons engaged in government work, national and local, or more than three times the increase of the population, which was 12·17 per cent. in the period. If we include the army, the navy, the Civil Service, school teachers, local officials, the police, and pensioners of all grades, we find that, throughout the country, six persons who work for their livelihood, and who have never received a penny from the public purse, have to support a seventh.

Responsibility for the alarming growth of local debts and expenditure rests largely with the Local Government Board, and partly with the Boards of Education and Agriculture, and other central authorities. Without leave first obtained, scarcely anything can be done by boards of guardians and urban councils; nor is the slightest deviation permitted from the rigid regulations even in matters of routine administration. In municipal affairs perfunctory 'inquiries' are constantly being held by inspectors as to granting further borrowing powers, which are rarely withheld. This is not a party question; it is a menace to good and economic government, and affects the body politic. Men of position and intelligence, who sacrifice valuable time in the public service, complain that they are hampered and restricted in the discharge of their duties, and are forced to incur unnecessary expenditure owing to demands made and rules laid down by the Local Government Board; besides which they are liable to be surcharged for outlay incurred in perfect good faith, and on matters concerning which local knowledge is more trustworthy than that of London officials. It is clear, then, that the Local Government Board could control expenditure, if it would.

Few persons are aware of the far-reaching and mis-

cellaneous powers which have been granted to or assumed by this shadowy Board. It is impersonal, but it cost 227,089*l.* last year. Nominally, it comprises certain high officers of state; but they never meet, and they have never once met. The President is, as a rule, a mere figure-head, frequently changed in accordance with Cabinet exigencies. He presides over no one. The real control rests with the permanent officials, worthy and able men, undoubtedly, but possessed of excessive and dangerous powers, not only executive, but, to a large extent, legislative also. They exercise the powers of the nominal Board by virtue of the insertion in numerous statutes of elastic clauses, whereby it is made the interpreter and absolute arbiter on many questions of detail in procedure. The miscellaneous subjects already enumerated as coming within the province of local administrative bodies are liable, more or less, to review. This growing tendency to bureaucracy and centralisation is of alien birth, and is inimical to the best interests of local self-government. Nor is this a mere theoretical grievance. Numerous conferences of county council, educational, and poor-law representatives have called public attention to the subject. At one such gathering, on May 17, 1905, held in the Westminster Guildhall, well-known men like Sir John Hibbert, Mr Harcourt Clare, Lord Belper, Sir Stuart Fairfax-Lane, and others, expressed the general feeling as to unnecessary expenditure incurred through the demands of the government departments, especially in connexion with lunatic asylums and isolation hospitals. It was openly stated that certain architects formed a 'ring,' under favour, and, in their turn, looked after the interests of another 'ring' of builders, with the result that, unless these two sets of people were employed, local authorities were subjected to delay and trouble. Such serious allegations, publicly made, ought, if possible, to have been met and refuted at once.

The facts and figures in the foregoing pages, taken as they are from authoritative official sources, should arouse the attention not only of professed statisticians and economists, but of all who love their country and who desire its prosperity. We have reached a critical period in our national career, and are spending on the machinery

of government far more than is warranted by the financial circumstances. A prolonged period of depressed trade, the serious depression in agriculture, the disproportion between producers and distributors and consumers, the crowded ranks of unskilled labour, the congested state of our large towns, the number of the unemployed—many of whom, unfortunately, are unemployable—the incessant and almost hopeless struggles of tens of thousands for bare subsistence, compel inquiry and arouse apprehension. Without attempting an examination into the various causes that have produced such conditions, and without discussing the social and economic problems with which we are confronted, emphasis may be placed upon the main course of the arguments and upon the general line of illustration adopted in the present article.

Instead of living within our national income, and placing a considerable portion of it to reserve, as in former years, we are to a certain extent living on our national capital. When the commercial world was smaller and competition less keen, it was thought that Great Britain possessed a monopoly in manufactures, in natural resources, in trade, in ocean carrying, and in enterprise. Mercantile and industrial conditions have undergone a series of changes that amount to a revolution. Other nations now compete actively with us, not only in foreign markets, but in the home trade and in our colonies. Yet, in the face of this keen competition, we continue to spend, on every department of government, gigantic amounts that are continually growing, but the full measure of which is intelligible only by such a series of comparisons as we have presented. One more example may be given. There has been during the past five years an average increase of 13,000,000*l.* annually in our combined national and local expenditure, compared with the average of the preceding five years, which, it must be remembered, were considered by economists to be dangerously extravagant as contrasted with earlier periods. The aggregate outlay during the last ten years was 1,440,835,128*l.* against 902,209,158*l.* in the previous ten years, and 780,000,000*l.* in the like period preceding. Of course the first of the above sums includes part of the 240,000,000*l.* disbursed in the South African war; but, even so, the increase is sufficiently alarming.

Mr Edgar Speyer, in his paper read before the Institute of Bankers, shows that our financial policy is largely responsible for the scarcity of capital which has done so much to check trade in recent years. That policy, if persisted in, will be in a large measure responsible for the reduction in the income of the nation, in consequence of an inadequate portion of our capital funds having been placed in reproductive enterprises. Even allowing for the growth in population, and for a corresponding increase in administrative expenses, the outlay is excessive, and the community has many millions less to spend or to save. Lord Avebury truly remarks, 'Legislation may transfer the spending power from the individual to the State or to the local authority; but it is an incontrovertible truth, elementary, indeed, but too often forgotten, that for every pound more spent by public authorities a pound less must be spent by private individuals.' A useful table is given by Mr Speyer showing how the national expenditure has increased in decennial periods.

Year.	Expenditure.	Population.	Per head.
1905-6	142,032,000	43,200,000	3 5 7
1895-6	97,764,000	39,598,000	2 9 4
1885-6	88,773,000	36,014,000	2 9 4
1875-6	74,365,000	33,093,000	2 4 6
1865-6	63,783,000	29,768,000	2 2 10

If the present expenditure for local purposes be added, the amount exacted for taxes and rates approaches 7*l.* per head per annum. As Mr J. W. Cross, in his 'Rake's Progress in Finance,' remarks,

'We have always been extravagant people, but in the last ten years we have become profusely extravagant; and, what with our Government's growing ordinary expenditure (exclusive of the special South African war expenditure), our municipal expenditure, our constant necessary loans to India and our various colonies, and the developments of our home industries—railways, shipbuilding, housebuilding, electrical appliances, and the like—our annual savings must be pretty well used up.'

The main cause of the large and rapid increase, next to the enormous outlay upon the army and navy, is an

exaggerated notion of the functions of government. State socialism is a modern craze, affecting not only the self-appointed leaders of the ignorant multitude, but certain academic and philanthropic persons whose sentiment is keener than their logic, and who dream of social conditions unrealisable while human nature exists.

It is assumed that the vague entity called the State can effect, as with a magician's wand, what can only be accomplished by personal industry, thrift, skill, and enterprise. Association for common ends is useful within defined limits and by employing appropriate methods, but it cannot supersede individual ability and effort. Declaratory resolutions, enthusiastically adopted in public meetings, pledging those voting to do their utmost to achieve some special object, lead to nothing unless some energetic persons transform the words into deeds. It is futile to hope that men can be made prosperous and contented by any form of state socialism. Its certain effects will be to multiply officials, to increase administrative machinery, to swell the expenditure, to discourage or paralyse personal responsibility, and to arouse hopes and expectations that can never be satisfied. The maximum of governmental interference and control may co-exist with the minimum of efficiency. Persistent attempts have been made of late to force municipalities, railways, and public companies to pay what is called 'the standard rate of wages,' to restrict the output, and to lessen the hours of work, so as to bring pressure to bear upon private employers. Demands are being made for municipal houses, for public works, for free meals to school children, for improved economic and social conditions, and for the inauguration of universal plenty and ease, all at somebody else's expense. Such demands lead to others, and launch the country on a fatal incline. But the facts will hardly be brought home to the mass of electors whose votes approve the present policy, at least of municipal bodies, until the compound householder is expunged, and the rates levied, even at a much enhanced cost of collection, directly on those who fix the amount.

A very large portion of governmental expenditure means a lock-up of capital; and no country, however rich, can continue to lavish money in this way without be-

coming embarrassed and impoverished. As Mr Cross justly remarks,

'The truth is that these imposing figures of imports, exports, railway revenues, income-tax returns, post-office earnings, bank clearings, excise and customs duties, tell us really very little as to our prosperity, because we first require to ascertain the origin of the motive-power that has set all the wheels of trade rolling at this accelerated pace. If the proceeds of loans, taxes, and rates have been lavished on unproductive expenditure, then the figures point to future adversity (although at first sight they may appear to indicate present prosperity), because there is a point in this sort of expenditure at which the delicate, sensitive machinery of the financial engine will be so severely strained that it will be thrown out of gear' (p. 134). And again: 'The undeveloped wealth, or the half-developed wealth of any country, however great that wealth may be, will not always suffice to pay obligations maturing in cash; and it is absolutely essential to distinguish between this immobile wealth and mobile wealth when we are attempting to gauge the strength of the back for bearing a financial burden' (p. 99).

Opinions may differ as to whether Mr Cross is too much of a pessimist, not to say an alarmist, in some of the views presented in his book; but the following passage (pp. 140-142) deserves serious consideration:—

'It is the part of every self-respecting nation always to maintain itself in such a position as to be able to view the prospects of war without dismay; and, to that end, every nation ought to consider earnestly where it stands. We have a strong, and, let us hope, a very efficient navy, and we may count upon the moral support of the United States in the Far East. But how do we stand financially? Where would our money market be to-day if large amounts of continental funds were to be suddenly withdrawn from London? No navy and no army could help us in this case. Twenty-four hours might work immense mischief. . . . The stability of our money market, therefore, ought to be our pre-eminent care.'

Stress must be laid upon the argument that any weakening of national or municipal credit is fraught with grave danger, and that serious risks are run by a portentous public expenditure concurrent with a defective banking system, and the decreasing margin left to

bear any sudden strain, as in the case of a European war. These are contingencies that should be weighed by statesmen and administrators, and pondered by all who have the responsibility of forming and guiding public opinion. Professional politicians may appeal in fluent rhetoric to popular ignorance, and amiable enthusiasts, dominated by one idea, but unable to take comprehensive views, may propound their social panaceas; but the questions at issue are broader and deeper than they imagine. We have referred already to the exercise of a rigid economy in the great spending departments of the public service, like the army and navy; the restoration to the House of Commons of full financial control; an arrest of the tendency to borrow large sums for local purposes (repayment of which should be spread over not more than thirty years, or one generation); the vast outlay upon experimental and structural works, the rapid growth of officialism, and the craze for municipal trading. There is no heroic method of dealing with the complex difficulties; but it may be urged that the same common-sense and business rules should be applied to national and local expenditure that are considered to be imperative in ordinary life. Commercial men do not conduct their affairs in the reckless fashion often displayed in public administration; or, if they do, the goal of bankruptcy is speedily reached. Domestic outgoings have to be regulated by income; and there is no valid reason why this salutary rule should not control the financial affairs of the Legislature and of local authorities. Instead of this, the first thing done is to decide how much shall be spent, and then the question of ways and means is considered. It is therefore not surprising that the nation has become improvident and wasteful, and is now confronted by problems whose solution will require the ability, the energy, the firmness, and the ingenuity of the wisest statesmen that this country can produce for many years to come.

Art. II.—ORIGINALITY AND CONVENTION IN LITERATURE.

1. *English Literature and Society in the Eighteenth Century.*
By Sir Leslie Stephen. London : Duckworth, 1904.
2. *Les Lois de l'Imitation.* By G. Tarde. Second edition.
Paris : Alcan, 1895.
3. *Physics and Politics.* By Walter Bagehot. Third
edition. London : King, 1875.

IT was certainly an old question, and for sundry critics a superfluous question, when Sir Leslie Stephen, trying in his last book to sum up the worth of literature, asked how much the great writers owe to themselves as individuals, that is, to their invention, and how much to convention, to the traditions and the environment in which they live. No doubt the modern critic will choose a short way with this ancient question, and will deny that it any longer exists. He will refuse to hear of a balance of forces in the literary process, and will recognise convention only as the limit, the adjustment, the imitation, of a single artistic and creative power. Invention, he will say, is the tread of genius in the flesh; convention is the trail of genius gone before. Psychologically, invention is one with sincerity, the expression of self; critically, it is production of high artistic values. Convention, treated historically, would begin, from this point of view, as literal reproduction of the invention, with much verbal repetition, as in the choral songs of savages, yielding, with the progress of the art, to a factor with which every one is now familiar as the mainstay of literature, imitation.

Here, then, is the monistic formula, one may say the accepted modern formula, of any literary process: invention and imitation, corresponding to the Darwinian formula of heredity and variation. Is it, however, a sufficient formula for literature as a social phenomenon, for literature as an element in human life everywhere and at all times? Is it really consistent with the doctrines of sociology? Satisfying the critic, who is mainly concerned with values, 'the reasoned exercise of literary taste,' the laws, tests, decrees, and signs whereby genius can be recognised, how does this formula appeal to the comparative, historical, sociological student of literature who

wishes to deal with his subject, not as an achievement, but as a function? How shall he define convention in terms, not of speculative or judicial fancy, but of those facts which have been observed and rationally connected in the long evolution of literature itself?

Convention, it will surely be granted, is more than simple literary tradition, more than the critical tests; it answers neither to the 'decorum' of Longinus, nor to the 'discretion' which Hobbes in his 'Leviathan' named as the restraining partner of 'fancy' in any work of art, not even to that comprehensive quality which later critics called taste. No synthesis of appreciations, no summary of the products of genius, can cover it. In any literary process, the force of convention is in good part active, contemporary; it has even a retroactive phase. Convention means something established by consent; invention, or genius, may not only come down to posterity in the acceleration of successive waves of consent, but it may also absorb this power. Posterity can make a genius where no genius, or only a very moderate form of it, existed for contemporary opinion. Shakespeare's text is saturated with an appreciative energy, due to this kind of convention, which compels both wonder and worship, and for which Shakespeare's genius, vast as it was, cannot account; while our English Bible has acquired an emotional power quite beyond reckoning from the consent and passion of religious community. Even in the actual doing of artistic work we feel that an element of the activity is due to consent with a contemporary force, and is quite distinct from imitation of a precedent act. The sweep and compulsion of these forces about one and in one can hardly be traced to a definite source in another individual mind; yet, although in a vague way this assumption is conceded, it gets no hearing as a scientific theory which should help to account for literary art. Modern thought has swung back from the democratic to the monarchical habit. It denies any real validity to such a phrase as religious consent, to such an idea as environment, to such an hypothesis as that of social laws. What these once explained, it explains now in its own way by the formula of monarch and subject, or, in technical words, by the doctrine of invention working directly or through suggestion on imitative individual

minds. The King is again the State ; genius explains literature in first as in last analysis.

What we call a commonplace, really the chief haunt of convention and the main achievement of social forces in their literary working, a sentiment or an idea of spontaneous character soaked in communal consent, is for the modern critic merely an outworn expression of genius. It is not, he says, a thing which everybody feels or thinks and one man expresses supremely well, but rather something which some one mind once supremely thought or felt and forced upon the thinking and feeling of an imitative crowd. To-day's tramp wears the coat of yesterday's gentleman : that is commonplace. The critical point of view is thus diametrically opposed to the point of view of romantic criticism a century ago. In the full triumph of that democratic movement in literature, although our sociological terms were then unknown, convention in its higher mood and the nobler commonplace were unduly exalted as the real and almost sole source of all poetic power ; the poet was thought to be one who simply took the commonplace sentiment out of its popular rock and set it, as the lapidary sets a gem, in adequate expression and relief. That is to say, where the romantic scholar, the democratic disciple, saw the source of true poetry in the 'great heart of the people,' in humanity at large, in spontaneity and in instinctive utterance, modern critics not only spurn the mob, deny the popular origin, but even declare that instinct and spontaneity are outworn metaphysical terms, confessions of ignorance, which correspond to nothing in actual life.

No better summary of this general doctrine for the fields of sociology and psychology can be found than in the works of the late M. Tarde. His 'Laws of Imitation' is a brilliant study of the subject for sociological ends. And no worse application, it may be added, of this doctrine to literary facts could be imagined than the application which M. Tarde makes here and there in the course of his argument. For this side of the case he does no service which Bagehot, the real founder of the theory of imitation in literature, had not done already ; and, when M. Tarde deviates from his master, he falls into demonstrable error. Along with the majority of modern critics he bans utterly what may be called collective sentiment,

and he spurns the literary 'type.' Environment, Comte's and Taine's *milieu*, has in itself, by M. Tarde's reckoning, no effect upon art; environment for him is simply the sum of imitative individuals on whom the suggestion of an inventor works by the laws of imitation, and in whom there is no compact, collective, instinctive power. The conventional factor is thus really removed from any literary process; for imitation is either mere reproduction of an invention or, in the more complicated case, a 'secondary invention.' Here, of course, one strikes a very old critical trail. If we set aside the sociological data, which it derives from Bagehot, this theory of M. Tarde's is a mere repetition of early eighteenth century ideas, such as one finds, for example, in a paper which Racine the younger read in 1720 before the Royal Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-lettres. 'La bonne imitation,' says Racine, 'est une continue invention.' Brilliant, fervid, rising far above such commonplace, André Chénier, at the end of the century, preached a better doctrine in his famous poem on 'Invention,' and gave ampler room to conventional forces; he saw the ideal poetry of the future in verses, strictly imitative of ancient art, which should reflect the new thought, the new philosophy, and 'en langage des dieux fasse parler Newton.'

But M. Tarde, with the old and narrow idea of invention and imitation as formula of the literary process, gives a particular illustration of its details, which seems little short of amazing in a countryman of the author of '*L'Évolution Littéraire*' Literature, says M. Tarde, always 'begins with a book'—he is arguing against Spencer's theory of evolution in art—'some poetical work of great relative perfection, some high initial source,' like 'the *Iliad*, the *Bible*, *Dante*.' Most unfortunate examples. *Dante*, apart from his intense personality, is a poetic summary of the Middle Ages, and is a splendid case of blended invention and convention, each at high pressure; the prophecies of the *Bible*, to take only one part of it, are the outcome of long evolution from roving bands, who exhorted and warned in mainly spontaneous and choral chant, on through the increasing importance of the leaders, and up to the solitary seer whose lips are touched with the coal from the altar, and who actually composes, not improvises, his impassioned strain. And the *Iliad*!

As if it were not the very flower and finality of Greek heroic verse! Is 'Beowulf' the 'high initial source' of old English epic, or 'Hamlet' the 'beginning' of Elizabethan drama? No; happier instances must be produced if one is to be persuaded that convention in the literary process, as distinguished from invention, lies in the expert and general imitation of masterpieces. These false facts, this superficial conception of the problem, are a hint of the larger error; setting the facts right and deepening and widening the conception, we may come at a portion of the truth about convention in its origin and its general nature so far as literature is concerned. To identify convention with imitation is a primary blunder. Imitation—in its oldest form reproduction—will explain a great part of literature; but there is a point where it ceases to explain. It explains in good measure the literary fashion; it is inadequate to explain the literary process.

It was just this literary fashion, and not the deeper fact, which Bagehot studied in certain brilliant pages of his 'Physics and Politics.' Where M. Tarde makes invention and imitation a formula of the universe, biological, psychological, and sociological, Bagehot merely examined groups of facts, and found that the impulse of imitation was quite sufficient to explain these facts in their conceded range. He started with the obvious throng of imitators who gather about a great writer and copy him. This 'stealing of the seed' he now applied to a wider and less obvious process. How does any literary fashion come into vogue?

'Some writer' (runs a passage in the third essay), 'not necessarily a very excellent writer or a remembered one, hit on something which suited the public taste; he went on writing, and others imitated him, and they so accustomed their readers to that style that they would bear nothing else' (p. 88).

Here, of course, is the doctrine of the consumer as an element to be reckoned in the problem of manufacture—a cardinal point in the 'scientific criticism' afterwards brilliantly worked out by Hennequin. But it does not carry one beyond the pale of literary fashion; and the same is true of another illustration which Bagehot gives by way of explaining his point. The founder of the 'Times' newspaper, it appears, was once asked how it was

that all the articles in the 'Times' seemed to be written by one man. The reply was, 'Oh, there is always some best contributor, and all the rest copy!' Here, of course, is M. Tarde's biological theory of the masterful cell and the imitative cells in a literary application. But this, too, is only fashion, vogue, accident; it is superficial; the real process itself lies far below. In the first essay, however, Bagehot speaks of something which cannot be ranged with these mere shifts and currents of literature; there is, he says, an 'unconscious imitation' which determines men's language, 'and makes them say what of themselves they never would have thought of saying'; they 'catch the words that are in the air, and the rhythm which comes to them they do not know whence.' Here is the deeper mystery. Bagehot only opened the door and showed a difficult path; he took no steps upon it, nor did he say whither it leads. It really leads to an explanation of the fundamental literary process.

Even in his study of the literary fashion, Bagehot failed to deal with certain phases for which imitation cannot account. Writers of leading articles in a great journal may indeed imitate the cleverest contributor, falling rather into accepted 'journalese,' one would put it, and following the tradition of a vigorous style; but what is to be said of contributors to the modern popular magazine? Imitation of what is successful plays its part, of course; the Kipling trail is everywhere. But who has not felt, in the magazine with a 'record' circulation, a quality not explained by imitation and the very opposite of invention? Here, surely, where the rewards are greatest, invention should be at its best, and imitations of this best should be at their highest pitch, like oarsmen following a mighty stroke; but it is a fact that popular demand and large compensation destroy in these writers of eminence and originality just the originality and eminence which have commended them. It is not imitation that takes up the invention, but a law of mediocrity which puts it down. A dismal average prevails. There is no style or achievement to which the contributors rise, but a dead level to which they drop. Brilliant as an author has proved himself to be, the huge cheque and the million copies invariably herald a disappointment. We say he is repeating himself, is written out; but this

is not all; he is in the clutch of a something not himself which makes for mediocrity. The force of an individual, like the force of a bullet, may keep its level for a while; but another force soon begins to drag it down. This is convention in its worst phase and represented by its most malign agent, the popular editor, who knows that conventional mediocrity is as sure a method for the success of a modern magazine as it was for the promotion of Swift's clergymen two centuries ago. He secures either an exceptional writer to make a commonplace article, or else a commonplace writer to 'work up' an exceptional subject. On this law hang his profits.

Imitation cannot account for the law of mediocrity. It cannot account for far higher phases of the literary fashion. It is true that the chronicle play was an ancient matter in Elizabeth's time; some clever playwright, no doubt, set an example of energy and novelty in reproducing this kind of drama in the last dozen years of her reign; but if, as a literary fashion, it be traced to its larger contemporary cause, then this cause will be found in the destruction of the Armada, the outburst of national pride and the deep conviction of national destiny, a spontaneous, popular force which needed neither inventor nor suggester. The historical novel, too, was no new thing in America in the last decade of the nineteenth century; its sudden vogue was owing to the Spanish war, to the flattering idea of world-power; and this convention soon found sufficient imitation allied with it to set the very conduits awash with Thackeray-and-water, with dilutions of Stevenson, Scott, and Dumas.

All this, however, concerns the literary fashion; convention must be studied in the actual literary process and expressed in terms of it. So expressed, convention will be found to include those elements which derive from the social foundation and social conditions of art itself; and such elements, whether analysed in fact or traced to their origin, can be resolved only in terms of consent and not in terms of imitation. It has, indeed, been urged against the theory of communal origins that early man, like the gorillas and kindred animals from which one can infer something of his life, led a solitary and not a gregarious existence. Very likely the *Urmensch* did lead a life of this isolated sort; but the beginning of

his real humanity, of his progress, began with the perception and realisation of social advantages. Art begins with this social man. Imitation was for solitary man an ancient thing, and so was instinct; society, civilisation, art, the new life, sprang in their mass and purpose not from imitation of inventions, however that may have played its part in detail, but from the consent of instinctive forces. Professor Bücher has shown conclusively, in his essay on 'Labour and Rhythm,' that the consent of instinctive forces in rhythm of march, of dance, of labour itself, was one of the most important factors in the making of society. To find gregarious and communal activity in pre-social man involves a contradiction fatal to any rational theory of the social beginnings of art. Such a theory must take into account the overwhelming importance of consent as a factor in the making of social conditions.

It is the object of the present paper to lay stress on that social factor in art which can be best illustrated by the act of getting into step for a march, or by the concerted movements of labour; to show that consent in outward expression along with consent in inward emotion and sentiment, or sympathy, forms the raw material of literature with which all individual and initiative thought must come to terms; and to make it probable that this primitive consent, persisting under whatever changes of mode in the literary process, serves as the basis and the warrant of convention.

As in the earliest efforts of art, so now, the literary process must be regarded as the result of two great forces, synchronous, and not alternating, in their operation. Invention, the personal factor, is familiar enough, and so is its mere projection, the imitation of invention, a subsequent and dependent act; criticism and the comparative study of literature deal respectively with these matters. The student of convention has to study a less obvious group of facts in dealing with that other great force in literature which is always hiding, for modern eyes, behind invention itself and getting confused with it often to the point of apparent identity. Language, for example, is a conventional element in literary art; and Schiller's reproach to the commonplace poets is familiar: 'Your very speech,' he says, 'itself both poetises and

thinks for you.' But here M. Tarde and others of his school take the word, and show, with what seems convincing logic, that language, in whole or in part, is the result of inventive individual genius imitated by the mass of society. To this seemingly convincing logic, indeed, one might reply by reference to an admirable article by Mr J. Donovan, in 'Mind,' on the festal origin of human speech; but such arguments would lead too far. It is best to stay with the nearer problem, and to look first of all at that apparently simple matter which often assumes the general name of convention itself, and which may be termed for our purposes the artistic disguise. Everybody knows this conventional obligation; few appreciate what it really means.

Here, too, M. Tarde is lying in wait with his formula of invention and imitation. If, for example, one should point to Mr Lowes' recent discovery that a good part of Chaucer's personal confidences about his love of books and worship of nature, particularly his cult of the daisy, is conventional, an artistic disguise, not invention or sincerity of the individual, one will be bidden to read further and note that Chaucer is imitating Froissart and Deschamps, that is, following a literary fashion. But artistic disguise itself is not a fashion; it is the modern expression of that old social compact, and is convention in its broadest and simplest form. Solitary man has no literature; and this social compact, this artistic disguise, even when employed to make the so-called confession and reveal the author's personality, remains convention to the end. Cellini, Rousseau, Goethe, even Alfred de Vigny in the exquisite 'Journal of a Poet,' still obey the primitive convention and fall into the step of the social group; however the man himself may strive and cry, once he communicates with the throng, by voice or by print, *loquitur artifex*. The naked individual, whatever his genius, is unknown to art.

All this, however, looks obvious, and not too new or important. We have a deeper quarrel with M. Tarde and his formula for the literary process, his spurning of convention as an exploded surmise. Literature, contrary to the usual idea of it, is often greatest where it is most conventional. Critics talk of the 'depth' or the 'human nature' or the 'elemental passion' as the differentiating

quality in such achievements; it is really the consent with social forces and tides of human sympathy, the power of genius to hold its bark in the full current of common passion. The master is greatest when he is himself forgotten and ignored. But, by M. Tarde's rule, the masterpiece ought to show a maximum of invention and a minimum of convention, while the amount of imitation, or the literature which springs from what he calls this 'high initial source,' this 'great book,' should be in direct and consequent proportion to the amount of invention in the model. The facts upset his theory. In reality, literature shows beyond doubt that an excess of invention spells sterility; while nearly all great writers, all who serve as rallying points for a school of literature, have been, in the deep sense of the word, strongly conventional. No more conventional poets ever lived than Homer and Shakespeare. Jane Austen is the most conventional of novelists; and her genius is nowhere so evident as in this obedience to convention. One is taught to think of genius as sheer invention, volcanic, revolutionary, always in opposition; it reverses all the currents of convention, one thinks, and begins the new era with triumphant times and peoples in its train. Literature tells another tale. Wherever in the poet individuality rises to a maximum and convention sinks to a minimum—conditions, as M. Tarde declares, which ought to form a new school of literature—there may be a cult, a fashion of eccentricity, but there is never a school or an epoch.

The great Dean of St Paul's was masterful and inventive to a high degree, and whoso neglects him neglects a rare and stimulating personality; his cult, too, was and is a fact; but where is the school of Donne as a result of this 'high initial source,' and what is he as a force and a master-spirit in English verse? Where is Donne's name in the roll of English poets? Bracketed with all the centrifugals and rebels, the oddities, the unread. Mr Gosse, who admires Donne sanely and sufficiently, calls his influence upon the poetry of England 'malign,' and notes his 'complete intellectual isolation,' a state hardly compatible with any influence at all. True, he heartened a few other poets, perhaps Browning for a notable case, to be as centrifugal as he was himself, to defy convention. Ben Jonson, as a man, separate in many of his own

instincts, liked Donne as a man, liked the packed thought of his verse ; but as a critic on Donne as a poet, Ben had other views, telling Drummond that for not being understood the Dean would 'perish,' and for not keeping accent 'deserved hanging,' two capital offences against convention. Coleridge thought Donne 'smooth' enough in his song, and 'metrical' throughout all his poems ; 'where the author *thinks*, and expects the reader to do so, the sense must be understood in order to ascertain the metre.' Very likely this is true ; but the great poets, including Coleridge himself, have known better than to set examination papers in verse. Of Browning himself much the same is to be said as was said of Donne, and that without intruding on criticism or touching, with Bagehot, the grotesque in art ; while, in the case of Walt Whitman, who had something akin to inventive genius but defied the great convention of rhythm, the title of poet is like a papal marquisate, needing constant verification and finding small assent.

Convention in excess, on the other hand, whether as mere rhythm, or as commonplace of figure, of language, of emotion, is a poetic sin even more unpardonable than excessive individuality. If invention in excess spells sterility, excessive convention results in a worthless superfluity of offspring, anaemic and undesired. The prose poets and the poetic prosemen tell this tale of suicidal extremes. As violence of invention neutralises the centripetal forces of common emotion, of sympathy ; and as erratic prose breaks away from ordered cadences of rhythmic consent, and the whole flies off at a tangent into space, where it may be many other things, indeed, but cannot be poetry ; so, at the other extreme, mere cadence and vague emotion, uninformed sympathy with the commonplace, cease to move at all and drop to the centre of indifference. This extreme is best illustrated, not by ordinary doggerel, which frequently makes vast centrifugal efforts, but by such a phenomenon as the school of Master-singers in Germany. The guild flourished also in France, and even got a foothold in England under Edward I, principally, however, as a fondling of the strangers settled in London. Its best estate was in the German cities. No genius was here in play ; convention usurped all initial power ; and in time the over-poeticised

poetry of these schools went to its own place in the limbo of dullness, just as the under-poeticised prose of Whitman has gone to its place in the limbo of eccentricities.

Historically, the Master-singers are most interesting as a survival of primitive art, and as a link with the old supremacy of convention itself. Despite the mastership which points at invention, and, however complex the rules and ceremonies, despite the connexion with aristocratic origins and the *Minnesänger*, these schools kept up the primitive conception of poetry as a universal gift, as a public, oral performance, and as a rhythmic expression of communal rather than individual emotion. Changed conditions of European life made it impossible for this old art to remain vital in an age which measured its gains by individual achievement. But the schools fought a brave fight. All the members (and the membership was general) were *ex officio* poets, like the peasants of Norway or of Finland at a village festival. Originality in any real sense was discouraged. Correctness, conformity, communal consent held sway. The poetry, mainly oral, was sung or chanted ; in some French schools it was recited, and the judges there were required to shut their eyes and to count on their fingers the syllables of each verse. Competition, to be sure, was rife, and each member was supposed to invent a 'new' rhythmic scheme ; but, compared with real poetic development, which moves in a spiral where invention impels upward but is held by convention to the ordered and regular curves, these unrefreshing lyrics simply circled in a cage. Individuals, of course, broke away and turned poets ; but the later group in Nürnberg, gathered about Hans Sachs, counted two hundred and fifty now forgotten 'masters.' But the guild died hard. Twelve Master-singers were living at Ulm in 1830 ; and, a few years later, four of them, who still maintained their organisation, after a vain attempt to put life into it, handed over insignia and other treasures to the local singing-society. Such was apparently the end. Yet only a decade passed before Richard Wagner was calling aloud upon Germany, then in the full swing of the democratic movement, to bring back that old fashion which united poet, singer, and community in a single oral effort, and was protesting against the modern system of one remote inspired writer and a

mass of scattered, silent, equally remote readers. The schools died of an excess of convention; but the conventional element in literature, which had animated them, was by no means dead, and can never die while literature remains a social fact.

Such, then, are convention and invention at their barren, dissociated extremes. A fundamental law of poetry ordains that somewhere between the commonplace and the eccentric, between crowded market and lonely peak, lies the realm of great achievement. It is an idol neither of the forum nor of the cave. Convention or consent without genius remains unmeaning and incidental, the temporary expression of a permanent emotion; genius without convention, without help from that muse who writes *pandemos* with her name, is sterile. A study of origins confirms this æsthetic principle. If it be true that invention is greatest in union with convention, and that even the excellent differences of genius, its sheer defiance of the conventional—Dante's 'spero di dir di lei Quello che mai non fu detto d'alcuna,' for example—are really fostered by this alliance, this is, after all, only an ontogenetic process such as goes on with every individual as he recapitulates, in his own development, the development of the race.

In the phylogenetic case, as we have already noted, scattered individual efforts united and consented in the first instance to make a social system, whether of war, of government, of industry, or art; and this initial step was not a social contract. There was no society with which the individual could make his contract; and the individual, apart from society, practises no social art. It was a social consent of individuals, in more or less spontaneous and instinctive effort, which began all human progress. Rhythm, we know, was one of the greatest factors in the making of society itself; and rhythm is consent. Sympathy, the sense of kind, which is the source of altruism, and so the warrant of permanence in social effort, is likewise a partial surrender of thought to feeling, of invention to convention; and is likewise consent. These are the elements of poetry now, as they were at the start of things; it is only a question of evolution and adjustment, in a course not hard to guess. At first all was choral, concerted effort, such

as in many savage tribes still makes up the bulk of poetry. Continuing so, primitive poetry would have been smothered in convention. But some individual of the throng bethought him of a new power—the use by one brain, one heart, for purely personal utterance, of the rhythm and emotional expression instinctively made by social consent. The singer who first sang his own thought as a verse in the rhythm of the throng, and in harmony with communal emotion, was the first poet, and first made that alliance between genius and convention which is still our best definition of the literary process.

Convention gave and gives rhythm and sympathy of emotion; invention added and adds both thought and variant expression, causing the emotion to be memorable. In the old Norse myth Odin gave Starkad the gift of poetry; Thor laid upon it the curse that Starkad should always forget what he had sung. There is rarely anything in purely communal song to make it memorable; it dies with its occasion. *Union et oubli* is the fate of individuals combined in choral emotion; the poet's immortality comes with solitary utterance, but it must be utterance in terms of this rhythmic choral emotion. Whoever believes that choral song itself, so persistent in low levels of literature, was primarily nothing but the imitation of individual singing, and that rhythm, speech, communal emotion itself, were inventions of M. Tarde's *sauvage de génie*, confronts an opposing probability in the terms of the primitive situation, an opposing presumption of instinct and spontaneity in consent, and an almost imperious inference from ethnological facts. A study such as was made by Ehrenreich of the Botocudo tribe in South America, or by Spencer and Gillen of the natives of Central Australia, confirms that other and more communal doctrine of primitive art.

Have we not, however, proved too much for convention? If its rôle steadily increases as we retrace the path of art, what of its future? If the history of poetry is more and more the history of the poet, is not extinction inevitable for its conventional elements? Sympathy, of course, a common emotion, once expressed in the joined hands, the consenting voice and step, must always exist as the very condition of appeal from author to reader; but are not the three great external conventions

of poetry—language, rhythm, artistic disguise—yielding to slow but inevitable assaults of time? Poets have always chafed at the commonplace of words; but the resources of metaphor, figure, inversion, must be close upon exhaustion; and, when the limits even of eccentricity have been reached, will not poetry at one extreme pass into the domain of music itself, and make its emotional appeal by inarticulate but novel combinations of sound? And, at the other extreme, how is it with rhythm? Assuming that the belief in prose poetry is what Professor Saintsbury calls it, a 'pestilent heresy,' can any one deny that the transfer of imaginative and creative genius from the domain of regular rhythm to the domain of prose has been a constant, an increasing and an ominous process? A French critic not long ago compared the available supply of rhymes in his language to the available supply of coal. Finally, the great principle of art itself, the conventional disguise—is not this yielding, almost to disappearance, before the photograph, the personally-conducted interview, the confidences of diet, the outright and advertised confession coming more and more into vogue? If Alfred de Vigny's 'Journal' lauds artistic disguise and declares that 'cela pourrait avoir été vrai' is all we should ever be able to comment on the revelation of self in facts, what shall be said of the page where the poet's inmost soul is laid bare in regard to his duty to the Bourbons and his family pride? And what shall we think of the pages which fairly palpitate with the anguish of a son kneeling by his stricken mother's bedside? Is not this literature? And where is the convention?

It may be answered, in general, that the permanent forms of convention just named are permanent because they are organic and not functional parts of the literary process; in particular, that the contrast of diminishing communal or conventional forces with the increasing importance of the individual, the loss in rhythmic expression, and the apparently inexorable passage of literature from chorus, chant, harangue, to private colloquy, from 'we' and 'you' to 'I' and 'thou,' are all relative and not absolute changes. Certain barriers, too, are evident still. De Vigny would never have published those passages of his intimate life, or else he would have published them

in the conventional form of lyric verse, like Cowper's lines about his mother's picture; an editor, more or less indiscreet, and posthumous publication, make for de Vigny an artistic disguise in themselves. He stands, for us, veiled by distance and time. When the living author essays this sort of thing as literature, it falls flat, in spite of all the resources of advertisement and even of less noble appeal.

As for the larger issue, while it is true that the individual comes more and more to the front of poetry, and that conventional elements recede more and more into the background, the latter are not destroyed or lost; without them and this background there would be no stage, no literature at all. We do not say that poets and individual authors were non-existent in earliest time, simply because we do not see them and because the choral throng seems to fill all the stage. We cannot see certain phases of invention there and then, just as we cannot quite distinguish all the old conventions here and now; these, we may be sure, are still working as organic parts of literature, but through deputies formerly unknown, and are now fairly hidden, as the poets themselves once were hidden, from ordinary sight. Often, as we have noted, these conventions act merely as a series of checks and negations; the centrifugal force is always more evident than the equally active centripetal restraint. Human experience, as a kind of social consciousness, is the comprehensive and grand convention; but we demand to see the old emotion in new lights of thought and phrase. The poet stands now in the full glare of the footlights, and the conventions are in shadow; but he cannot break the bond between him and them. We still resent the isolation of thought, insist upon emotional community, and will not allow a La Bruyère to make good his paradox that 'all our ills come from our inability to be alone.' The 'thought of grief' relieved by a 'timely utterance' would never be relieved unless the utterance were directly or indirectly public. The individual never came to society, in art or in practical life, to see himself reflected as individual, or to copy another individual's invention; he came, so far as the aesthetic side of art is concerned, because his individuality oppressed and hurt him. As poetry was

and is a stimulant to individuals in social union, heartening them, in work or play or on the march, by the power of consent, so poetry was and is a narcotic to the individual self. The sense of his own weakness and of his transient hold on things drove man to a convention or consent which soothed his individual pains.

It is a mistake to say outright that primitive life, like the life of savages now, had no tragic reflection, simply because early humanity, like modern savagery, could neither remember nor forecast. Early man was soaked in the tragedy of things, and was constantly shadowed by death; observe how nervously a thrush eats a worm, and do not assume, even with so great an authority as Professor Bücher, the existence of that 'joyous and careless' primitive life. No, it was now a narcotic and now a stimulant, in either case a relief of his personal ills, that individual man discovered in the consent of poetry and song; and the two moods alternate throughout literature to this day. As a narcotic, poetry offered him in soothing cadences the cry of a human sympathy and the community of emotion over a common fate; no better expression of this function can be found than in the beautiful close of Sir William Temple's essay. But there was another appeal of poetry to man as a social being. Like the modern socialist, and echoing the stimulating chorus of successful labour and triumphant play, he saw the possibilities of permanence, strength, happiness, success, denied to the individual and the present, realised in the community and in the future.

The artistic expression of this conventional hope is what has been called, in no inapt use of the adjective, poetic justice. Shakespeare concedes something to this element in every tragedy except 'Timon,' and perhaps even there; the 'gored state' will be safe with Edgar and Albany, with Fortinbras, with Malcolm, whatever fortune may have done to the Learns and the Hamlets and the Macbeths. Thackeray tosses this poetic justice to his readers in a kind of contempt, bidding them make what they will of the tragedy, which ought to be as inevitable for Clive and Ethel as for Colonel Newcome himself. Everybody knows what a reversal of things Dickens made, sacrificing his art to convention at the end of 'Great Expectations,' and what Mr Kipling conceded in

an alternative conclusion of his 'Light that Failed.' 'I take the Mayor of Casterbridge,' says Mr Hardy, with his ironical smile, addressing convention; 'you may have Elizabeth Jane.' Scott had his compunctions, it is said, over the unavoidable tragedy of the 'Bride of Lammermoor.' Even Greek tragedy, the birth of which Nietzsche derived from a union of the Dionysian and the Apollonian elements, was rescued by Euripides from its excess of tragic thought; it is the 'Alcestis' which has that 'human' or conventional touch outright, and in his other plays there is a strong tendency toward a happy ending.

To explain literary convention, then, one must go back to the joined hands, the harmonious fall of many feet, and that rhythmic consent of voices which, under stress of a common emotion, came to deeper and wider significance than any multiplication of inventions and imitations could ever produce. Here is sentiment, here is sympathy, here is rhythm; without these, the edifice of society, not to speak of art, would fall. This is the centripetal force, the warrant of order, the law of definite orbits. Over against it works the other or centrifugal force of the individual, expressing itself by thought, by dissent, by opinion, compelling into progress what otherwise would be an inert world. Of these two elements in the literary process, convention is neglected by the critic and the comparative student mainly because its functions have passed from the active and visible category into that of the merely regulative. It is the process of all culture, the fate of purely communal elements, the triumph of individuality. We stand silent about the tomb where our forebears once wept and chanted the dirge, and even danced the dance of sorrow, like that old Corsican *caracolu*. The great death-scenes of literature have also passed from verse into prose. Once prose was fit only for 'doctrine'; it was not 'pleasant to people,' as John of Ireland remarks in what is thought to be the oldest piece of original literary prose in Scots; but now one no longer absolutely and always needs the cadence of verse to make language artistic. Humour for wit, smile for laugh, print for recitation or chant, immobile hands and features for older gesticulations, colloquy of a committee for oratory and debate of a senate, all these are symptomatic changes due to the slow but inexorable triumph of thought over

emotion. Even history, which once gave its discussions and speeches with dramatic effect, is now a record of facts relieved by epigrams. The old 'thrill' is outlawed. Quotation itself, in the generous manner of a half-century ago, is no more a decent practice in talk; and so it goes with all things begotten of open and communal enthusiasm. Sympathy remains; but it must take a subterranean, intellectual course, working often unseen and unguessed along with other conventional elements.

Amid this general lowering of tone, poetry, in its function of rhythmic expression, and thus as the oldest of conventionalities, seems to many observers to be not far from bankruptcy. For it is prose which always detaches the individual; while poetry, still suggesting by verse and foot and beat of regular pulse the primitive dancing throng, convenes, synthesises, begets sympathy by contact, and evokes a kind of social cheer, even if this has to be the cheer of a common sorrow finding relief in concerted expression. Concerted expression, outright or by rhythmic deputy, seems to be on the wane. Yet, if it be true that social man cannot live without the permanent elements of convention, poetry in some guise must have its share in the permanent scheme. What is this guise? Epic and dramatic forces, certainly for three centuries, have been inclining more and more to prose; but the lyric, despite innumerable temptations of 'pastel,' idyll, and what not, refuses to follow in the footsteps of novel and play. In the lyric, convention is still an open and a triumphant power. Excess of thought is there jettisoned without remorse; rhythm is insistent, exact; there, too, invention joins conventional forces in an ideal union. Lyric is flexible and progressive still, welcoming the new individual idea while it retains the old sympathy, the old cadence, form, and phrase; it stretches without strain to include Mr Kipling's 'Recessional' and Mr Meredith's 'Modern Love.' If, in the stress of things, poetry be ever forced to retreat into her citadel, that citadel is lyric; and there it can defy all the assaults of time.

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Art. III.—THE CONGO QUESTION.

1. *Rapport au Roi-souverain. Bulletin Officiel de l'Etat Independant du Congo.* Brussels: Falk, 31 October, 1905.
2. *Report of King Leopold's Commission of Enquiry.* Congo Reform Association. November 1905.
3. *King Leopold's Rule in Africa.* By E. D. Morel. London: Heinemann, 1904.
4. *The British Case in French Congo.* By E. D. Morel. London: Heinemann, 1903.
5. *Civilisation in Congoland: a story of International Wrongdoing.* By H. R. Fox Bourne. With prefatory note by Sir C. W. Dilke. London: King, 1903.
6. *The Map of Africa by Treaty.* By Sir E. Hertslet, K.C.B. Two vols. London: Harrison, 1894.
7. *The West Africa Mail.* Edited by E. D. Morel. 1903-1905. [Especially Rev. John H. Weeks' letters.]
8. *Le Congo Léopoldien.* By Pierre Mille. Paris, 1905.

And other works and papers.

IN 1875 the results of Lieutenant Cameron's great journey across Africa became known. They revealed to that very small section of the world then taking any interest in Africa the existence, in the southern part of the Congo Basin, of a fertile, highly mineralised territory, outside the limits of Portuguese claims, inhabited somewhat thickly by tribes of Bantu negroes, a little removed from conditions of absolute savagery, and by no means ill-disposed towards the white man; in fact, the material for a Central African empire awaiting the enterprise of a European or an Asiatic power. The present King of the Belgians was at once interested in the matter. The gossip of European chanceries already attributed to him, as to his father, great shrewdness in the investment of the funds of his house; he was said to have made one fortune for himself and another for his infant son by courageous purchase of Suez Canal shares at a time when British statesmen of the usual shortsighted type had declared the canal to be an impossibility or a foredoomed failure. Leopold II was vaguely attracted towards a Central African enterprise as offering opportunities for profitable investment of capital, romantic

additions to our knowledge, and possibly the space for a colonial experiment on the part of Belgium.

Many hard things have been said about the second King of the Belgians as regards his family affairs or his assumed rôle of philanthropist. But his bitterest critic has not denied that he is first and foremost the King of the Belgians, and that he has worked throughout his life untiringly and determinedly on behalf of Belgian interests; that, under his long rule, Belgian population and commerce have attained an extraordinarily great development; in fact, that he has raised Belgium as a political entity from the sixth to the second rank. Consequently, in his own country he enjoys almost unlimited popularity.

Now Belgium, according to its constitution, may not, under its international guarantee, hold any oversea possessions. This is a fact so often asserted that we may suppose it to be more or less true, though no one seems to have taken the trouble to verify the existence of this restrictive clause. It is a clause certainly as obsolete as the guarantee of Belgian national existence, in which Great Britain joined with France and other Powers.

But this difficulty is said to have been one of the reasons why King Leopold proceeded by tortuous courses towards the creation of a great African empire for Belgium. He tried simultaneously (rumour said) to purchase the Philippines from Spain, but failed. He turned towards Central Africa, therefore, with renewed energy when Stanley's wonderful journey down the Congo (1875-1877) revealed at a flash the last great secret of African geography.

Between 1875 and 1879 the King's work in directing the scientific exploration of Central Africa from Brussels was avowedly international. But he soon began to realise that the last quarter of the nineteenth century was not a favourable time for a truly international work in Africa. England's eye was already cast on East Africa and Nyasaland; France was beginning to contemplate an African empire which might atone for the lost foothold on the Rhine; Portugal's hopes and ancient claims were reviving; Germany was taking a keen interest in the waste places of the earth. So the 'Association Internationale Africaine' gradually split up into national and sometimes

mutually hostile branches. Great Britain, through its Royal Geographical Society, despatched Joseph Thomson to Tanganyika and Nyasa, and afterwards to lay the foundations of British East Africa* by discovering the direct route to the Victoria Nyanza; France sent De Brazza to explore the Ogowe and create French Congo; Germany made a patient investigation of South Congoland; Portugal enlarged her own knowledge of Angola, Benguela, and Zambezia; and the King of the Belgians established a more or less Belgian enterprise in the 'Comité d'Études du Haut Congo.' This committee, which was entirely directed by the King of the Belgians, was formed after Stanley had returned from the Congo, had rested, and had finally given himself over to Belgian employment. He had been laughed at for his pains when he offered the Congo Basin to England at his conferences with her merchants at Liverpool and Manchester. Cameron had met with similar rebuffs in 1875.

Stanley started for the Congo in 1879 at the head of a powerful expedition, mainly, if not entirely, paid for by King Leopold. In the course of five years he laid the foundation of the Congo Free State, which still bears his native name, 'Bula Matadi,'† as its local designation. Stanley, like the British Government, seems for long to have been under the impression that he was laying the foundations of a great homogeneous native state under British protection. The King of the Belgians was financing this operation out of 'pure philanthropy.' It was, of course, the most philanthropical thing you could do to poor benighted savages to place them under British protection. Contemporary opinion regarded the French as—well, French, that is to say, 'immoral'; the Portuguese were 'Roman Catholics,' they were suspected of a 'hankering after slavery,' and they 'strangled commerce' by high customs duties and oppressive restrictions.‡ The Germans were not yet above the horizon, from the point of view of a colonising people, though, it is said, they

* It is one of the ironies of contemporary history that British East Africa contains no monument or official recognition of its creator.

† This nickname, frequently applied to former native celebrities in the old kingdom of Congo, means '(He) breaks stones.' *Matadi* = 'stones,' and in the more corrupt dialects of the Central Congo is softened into *Matare*.

‡ We are, of course, only repeating contemporary opinions.

were watching Stanley and the King of the Belgians all the time, and waiting to pounce on the Congo the instant it was dropped.

So the work of the 'Comité d'Études du Haut Congo,' between 1879 and 1884, became, in the eyes of the world, a British enterprise, in which Stanley bore the flag of St George up the Congo from Banana Point to Stanley Pool, and from Stanley Pool to the Arab stations at Stanley Falls. His opponents, covert or undisguised, were De Brazza, on the part of the French, and the great Dutch trading-house on the Lower Congo, the subtle champion either of the Portuguese or of the shrouded German ambitions centred in Peschuel-Loesche and his companions. King Leopold engaged for the work of the 'Comité' Englishmen chiefly, a few notable Belgians, several celebrated Germans, like the great explorer von Wissmann, the clever naturalist, Peschuel-Loesche, and some Danes and Swedes. No hint was given till late in 1883 that Stanley was deluded, and that Leopold II was really working in the main for Belgian ends. Then it began to dawn on the British Government that the enterprise of the committee for studying the Upper Congo might be drifting in a direction opposed to British political interests in West Africa; and that a Congo empire for Belgium, Germany, or France might be in process of creation under Stanley's unconsciously directed energy. So a treaty was negotiated with our old rival Portugal, which recognised Portugal as the dominant power on the Lower Congo, in return for a vague partnership with that power in controlling the navigable Lower Congo and a free hand for Great Britain on the upper reaches of the river.

There is now little doubt that, had the famous treaty with Portugal, negotiated by Sir Charles Dilke, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, and Sir Robert Morier in 1884, been ratified and carried out, despite French indignation and German growls, little more would have been heard of the 'Comité d'Études' and the King of the Belgians on the Upper Congo; that the Congo Basin would have been added to the British Empire, together with Delagoa Bay and Nyasaland, before its time; with Dahome also, and an all-British West African coast between Sierra Leone and the Gaboon. It is true that, on the other hand, we might

have lost Egypt and Northern Nigeria, East Africa and Zanzibar. But the King of the Belgians was forced to unmask his plans in very desperation. While he wished to preserve his nascent African dominion from absorption by the British Government, he was anxious not to arouse the hostility of the British people. Rather he hoped, through Stanley, Sir William Mackinnon, and Mr James Hutton, to enlist their sympathies against their own Government, and so ward off any Anglo-Portuguese combination. At the same time he awakened German jealousy of British imperial expansion; he promised France a share in the Congo Basin, and, at any rate, the reversion of his own project; he conciliated the Dutch house on the Congo, and disarmed Portugal by acquiescing in her annexation of the southern bank of the Lower Congo, Cabinda, and a great *hinterland* for Angola. In short, he made use of the prevalent and natural jealousy and distrust of Great Britain to divert hostility from his own schemes of a Belgian empire in Central Africa. And he succeeded. The Berlin Conference was summoned; a little flattery secured the sympathy of the United States, the Americans believing that another and larger Liberia was in process of creation; and the Independent State of the Congo, briefly known as the Congo Free State, was born, and placed under the sovereignty of the King of the Belgians, with provision (as regards France, then the only Power to be feared) for a closer connexion with Belgium if it could be subsequently brought about.

This conference, as also those which succeeded it at Brussels, gave rise to a large display of the false sentiment with which Europe and white America are wont to cover their projects in the lands of black and yellow men. A millennium was to dawn in Central Africa under the régime of this black state, which would be a kind of federation of native chieftainships under the presidency of King Leopold. Aged statesmen shed tears at the beauty of their valedictory speeches and the visions they had conjured up of a regenerated Africa. Of one thing Europe in congress was quite certain—there was to be free trade, not only in the actual basin of the Congo, but even over considerable regions beyond. There were to be no import duties anywhere in this vast area, from

which were excepted the narrow territories already recognised as belonging to Zanzibar, Portugal, or France. Export duties might be imposed; but, as a matter of fact, every one was so ready to embrace and speechify, to give and attend banquets, and to wave flags, that no consideration at all was given to the financial aspect of the Congo Free State—in other words, to the question how it was to raise a revenue to pay for the expense of establishing, over an area of some million square miles, a government on civilised lines.

Great Britain, at this conference of the European Powers, secured the recognition of her sphere of influence over the Niger and Benue; Germany had already annexed the Cameroons; France had secured all she wanted for the moment in the northern part of the Congo Basin. Consequently, the Congo Free State was left free for some years from international jealousies to develop its organisation at the cost of the King of the Belgians. It is generally understood that the small fraction of the original funds of the 'Comité d'Études du Haut Congo,' which had been contributed by British philanthropists, was returned to the donors. The money therefore, which had brought the Congo Free State into being, and which maintained it thenceforward, came in the main from the private purse of the King of the Belgians; or, later, from such funds as the King could raise by the sale or granting of concessions, or from the produce of the Royal Domain (*Domaine Privé*), an immense estate which was carved out of the very middle of the Congo empire and allotted to the private administration of the King of the Belgians.

The King, having secured liberty to create a Belgian empire in Central Africa, was not at first too anxious to modify the international character of the enterprise. Though the relative number of Belgian employés and officers increased, the governorship of the State was entrusted to an Englishman who had held, and was afterwards to hold, high positions in the British Empire or at Court. The rule of this English Governor-general was mild and kindly, but it was the rule of a man who had passed the days of his first vigour. Moreover, his resources in money were but scanty for the gigantic area that he was supposed to control. In the first two or

three years, therefore, that ensued from the birth of the State in 1885, the great, one might almost write without exaggeration the stupendous, work which Stanley had accomplished between 1879 and 1884 went backwards rather than forwards. A rival Power had arisen in the eastern half of the Congo Basin, a Power which, in its way, achieved more remarkable results from smaller resources (as regards shaking and changing Africa) than could be attributed to the work of the King of the Belgians. This was the Power that sprang from the invasion of the Congo Basin by Zanzibari Arabs, and later by the Arabised negroes trained in Zanzibari methods.

There have been many Arab invasions of the East Coast of Africa from, say, 1000 B.C. to 1750 A.D. It was about the latter date that the Arabs of Maskat, in eastern Arabia, having driven the Portuguese out of their East African strongholds north of the river Ruvuma, reinforced very strongly the older Arab colonies of Zanzibar and the East African littoral between the Ruvuma on the south and Somaliland on the north. Guns and gunpowder having become common amongst these East African Arabs, they soon began to penetrate the interior of the Dark Continent *en maîtres*. This movement, however, towards Central Africa, for the purposes of the slave trade and the trade in ivory, did not become a strongly marked invasion until the beginning of the nineteenth century. By 1850 the Zanzibari Arabs had practically discovered both routes, direct and indirect, to the Victoria Nyanza, had reached the east coast of Tanganyika, and had brought under their influence a great deal of Nyasaland. By about 1870 they had reached the gold and copper mines of Katanga, and that great unknown river which, flowing from Lakes Bangweulu and Mweru, was ultimately to become known as the Upper Congo.

Livingstone, in the wake of the Arabs, reached this mysterious Lualaba or Luapula in 1869. He bore witness to the frightful horrors which attended the march of the Arabs towards the heart of Central Africa. He saw the slave trade at its worst; he saw the destruction of the Manyema forests, and the enslaving of a people who afterwards, in their turn, were to become even more cruel robbers and devastators than their Arab masters.

The Arabs, however, in those days, not as yet clearly identifying the European as a rival conqueror, and laughing at his dislike to the slave trade as a harmless fad, were often of great assistance to European explorers. But for the Arabs, Livingstone would never have discovered the source and course of the Upper Congo. But for the same clan of Arabs, Cameron could not have crossed Africa, nor could Stanley have followed the Upper Congo down to its outlet into the Atlantic Ocean. The Arabs themselves followed Stanley. Prior to his great exploit—one of almost unexampled audacity and dogged perseverance—they had been stopped by the Congo rapids, the awful Congo forest, and the fierce tribes of Congo cannibals with their poisoned arrows. Stanley showed the way. His prestige weakened the resistance of the indigenous tribes; and the notorious Tipu-Tipu followed in his wake. Consequently, when the King of the Belgians defined the boundaries of the Congo Free State, in the summer of 1885, as extending to the west coast of Tanganyika—the Belgians had originally claimed the east coast as well, but gave that up to the Germans—he was really claiming a territory of which at least one fifth was occupied by Arab slave-traders who had become Arab sultans.

The horrors of slave-raiding, as carried on by the Arabs, were not exaggerated by Livingstone, Stanley, Thomson, Wissmann, Johnston, and the earlier Belgian explorers, or by the gallant missionaries of the various British missionary societies, or the equally gallant Scottish pioneers of the African Lakes Company. But, when the Arabs had completed the conquest of the turbulent negro tribes, when they had Muhammadanised a large proportion of the people, and had glutted their labour-market with slaves, it must be admitted that their ravages ceased, and that something faintly approaching civilisation sprang up in the wilderness. Once established, the rule of the Arab master was a light one. He required little, if anything, in the way of taxation. His slaves, so well treated that they scarcely realised their slavery or desired to escape, cultivated the fields industriously, and thus supplied him and his government with large quantities of marketable produce. His bands of armed men—armed negroes officered by Arabs—suspended their con-

quests over savage men to attack the elephants with guns and gunpowder; and a flourishing trade in ivory brought immense wealth to the Arabs, and to those Arabised negroes who, to some extent, succeeded their white masters in power. Handsome wood-carving, in the Zanzibar style, was introduced into the buildings that sprang up amidst the rank vegetation of the Congo forest. Mosques and schools were instituted, and Arab clothing covered the negro nakedness; whilst the native women inserted silver ornaments in their nostrils and aped the manners and clothing of the 'smart set' of Zanzibar.

This scattered congeries of Arab settlements, stretching from the Aruwimi river on the north to Lake Nyasa on the south, was for some time unaware that Stanley, a hero in Arab eyes, had left Africa, or that such a thing as the Berlin Conference had taken place. When a Belgian Governor succeeded the last English successor of Stanley, and the Belgians began to assert their authority against that of the Arabs, the former were soon put to rout. A few attacks, half contemptuous—so great was the force on their side—and the Arabs drove all semblance of Belgian control away from the regions of the Upper Congo, and from the whole of the eastern and southern part of the Congo Basin. An appeal was made to Stanley, who came out with the secondary object of relieving Emin Pasha. To some extent he restored the prestige of the Congo Free State and bought over the leading Arabs to acquiescence in its rule.

This truce did not last long. Stanley again passed out of the country, leaving his own reputation untarnished, but a cloud of evil rumours (unfortunately based on much truth) as to the scandalous doings of certain British officers attached to his expedition. These Congo 'atrocities,' as they were termed, provoked remonstrances from Tipu-Tipu, the arch-ravager. The fact was that, although Tipu-Tipu was ready to wage war for frank plunder and conquest of territory, he certainly held cannibalism in horror, and would not have dreamed of experimenting with it scientifically; also, in all probability, though he might not have hesitated to shoot any negro who stood in his way, he would not have consented to cruel floggings.

There was now nothing for it but to fight with the Arabs for the possession of the Congo Free State. So King Leopold had to spend vast sums in raising armies of trained negroes, officered by Belgians, Swedes, and English ; and to send them, under the command of Captain (afterwards Baron) Dhanis, to subdue the Arabs on the Upper Congo. The Arabs were wiped out in several campaigns, conducted with extraordinary bravery by the Belgians and their comrades. But these campaigns were accompanied by horrible circumstances, related, perhaps, with almost too much gusto by certain authors, for at that day cannibalism had still something quaint and funny about it.

The financial condition of the Free State now became a matter of great urgency to King Leopold. Its maintenance cost many thousands of pounds annually ; and its returns, chiefly in ivory, went but a small way to meet the expenditure. Moreover, the enormous transport difficulties which affected the route to the Upper Congo at Stanley Pool—three hundred miles of rocky country between the navigable Upper Congo and the navigable Lower Congo—required the raising of money for the construction of a railway, if the Free State was to be mistress of the Congo Basin.

Already, in 1885, regulations had been drawn up which defined, in a dangerously loose way, the territorial rights of the natives. Practically the natives were told that they might be considered to own collectively the soil they occupied at the date of the decree, but that all the rest of the land in the Congo Free State belonged to the State. It was crown land, which they might occupy only with the State's consent, and no doubt by paying rent in some form, in produce or labour. The State had created a monopoly in ivory. Now also began to arise the question of india-rubber, which has been the fount and origin of the troubles recently exposed.

It is a curious and somewhat melancholy reflection that Mr Dunlop and the other clever gentlemen who, by their united inventions, brought the pneumatic-tyred bicycle into existence, and so led the way to the motor and all other things that use india-rubber tyres, have been indirectly responsible for the death or mutilation of thousands of Congo natives. About 1887 the demand for

more india-rubber began to make itself felt, so that many people explored the coast regions of West Africa to see if rubber grew there. By 1892—though Stanley had shouted it repeatedly, years before, into the deaf ears of Liverpool and Manchester—it began to be known that the whole interior of the Congo Basin, all the vast and thickly wooded region between 3° N. and 6° S., was full of rubber. In all the regions of Africa, with one doubtful exception, there is no such astonishing wealth and variety of india-rubber-producing trees, bushes, and lianas. That exception may be the tiny territory of Liberia. It occurred to cold, practical men of Brussels and Antwerp, people who did not care one straw for the King's philanthropic notions, that there was a great deal of money to be made in the Congo Basin if the investment of capital could be protected by concessions and monopolies. So, about this period, the territory of the State beyond the cataract region began to be divided up into areas over which monopolist concessions of india-rubber and other products were granted on condition that large proportions of the profits should be paid to the King of the Belgians or to the treasury of the Congo Free State. There was, of course, in addition, the great *Domaine Privé*, which became a gigantic rubber-farm, worked by the King's employés.

In 1892 the King summoned another European conference at Brussels, and laid before it the financial difficulties of his State. He was met half-way by the representatives of Great Britain, France, Germany, and Portugal, who found the self-denying policy initiated at the Berlin Conference—that of not imposing import duties—as onerous to themselves in their new African possessions as it was to the King of the Belgians. So, although the policy of free trade was theoretically maintained, a system of import duties was established on the Congo; and this was followed by a silent acquiescence in the King's 'concessionnaire' policy, which made it very difficult for small traders, or for business houses outside the 'ring,' to exist within the Congo Free State territory.

There could be no reasonable objection to these import duties; but they were not of much use in raising revenue, because, by the creation of a few huge monopolies for the trade of all the vast Congo Basin eastward of the cataracts, the quantity of trade goods introduced from Europe

into the greater part of the Congo area was kept very low. Taxation had been imposed on the natives for some time prior to 1892; but in the years succeeding 1894 it was enforced much more rigidly. It took the form of a labour tax together with a food or produce tax. Theoretically, each adult native of both sexes had to provide every post, garrison, or town with native articles of food, such as a preparation of manioc called 'chikwanga,' fowls, goats, fish, etc. The labour tax was vaguely appraised at forty hours' work for the State per month; but it might be translated into the bringing in of so many kilogrammes of rubber, so much copal gum, so much cut wood for the steamers, and so forth. In addition, the native was told that nothing outside the narrow limits of his own village belonged to him, and that it was a criminal act for him to take anything out of the forest; he was even obliged to surrender to the state officials all game that he caught or killed, not only the tusks of any elephant that he killed in order to protect his crops, but all game, without distinction. At the same time he was forbidden to kill game during seven months of the year. It is no exaggeration to say that these regulations regarding native taxation turned millions of unhappy negroes into potential criminals, people who, on some count or another, had gone astray, and were therefore liable to punishment in the form of further impositions, fines, imprisonments, forced labour, exile, or, terrible to say, mutilation and death. For, if the laws were harsh, their enforcement, especially in the territory of the concessionnaire companies, was accompanied by the most horrible and illegal cruelties.

Notorious amongst the concessionnaires was an institution whose name will be, for all time, the synonym of the worst wickedness of the white man in tropical Africa, that of the concessionnaire company known as the 'Abir' (A.B.I.R.), which letters, we believe, stand for 'Anglo-Belgian India-rubber' Company.* It is pitiable, if true, to think that any Englishman can be justly charged with having taken part or share in this company; and, when we find the charges brought by Englishmen

* The late Colonel North was interested in the foundation of this company in 1892. In 1898 the company was reconstituted; and it is said that all British capital was withdrawn.

against the administration of the Congo Free State amply justified by the honest report which that State now issues, our unctuous rectitude must keep silence if it can be proved that the first letter of the word 'Abir' involves Englishmen in the guilt of the Congo horrors. Whoever they may be—British, Belgian, German, or what not—the names of the directors of the 'Abir' should be published in full; and the owners of those names should then and there retire into private life as the only expiation they can make for having consciously or unconsciously left so dark a stain in the heart of the Congo Free State. They have directed a policy which has resulted in the death of several thousand defenceless savages, the mutilation of many more, the outraging of women, the destruction of homes, and the depopulation of a once well-peopled land.

Possibly other concessionnaire companies (such as the Mongala) were nearly as much to blame; and dark stories circulate as to the doings in the *Domaine Privé*. By means of these companies, however, an enormous export trade in rubber arose in the Congo Free State, with a sensible addition to the wealth and importance of Antwerp. So much, indeed, has Belgium profited by the development of the Congo Free State, that one can easily understand how it has been well-nigh impossible to obtain in Belgium a hearing for these charges brought against the government of its King in Central Africa. The stories to the effect that the King-sovereign has enriched himself enormously by these enterprises are probably without foundation. When it is remembered that nearly the whole of the gigantic expenditure of the Congo Free State and other Belgian enterprises in Central and Eastern Africa from 1875 to 1894, and to a less degree down to the present day, has been defrayed by the private fortune of the King of the Belgians, it is doubtful whether, even with all the profits assigned to him in the popular estimation as the result of the exportation of rubber and ivory from the Congo Free State, he has been more than reimbursed for the money that he laid out with the view, not only of enriching Belgium, but also of creating a great civilised State in the heart of Central Africa.

It is possible that King Leopold has been deceived

by his subordinates; and that, until the results of the investigation instituted by his Commission, set forth in the Report under review, became known to him (probably in the early summer of 1905), he did not really credit the stories of wrong-doing in the Congo Free State. He knew that, from 1892 onwards, British merchants of Liverpool, Manchester, and London had bitterly regretted that they or their forerunners had not listened to Cameron and Stanley, and impelled the British Government to do for the Congo what had been done by the King of the Belgians. He knew that the British were anxious to oust him from his inconvenient leaseholds in the Nile watershed; that Cecil Rhodes and his disciples had hungered after Katanga; and that, as Germany was too tough an obstacle in the way of the Cape to Cairo route, British politicians who talked at large had several times mentally annexed the Congo shores of Tanganyika for the uninterrupted Cape to Cairo railway. He knew also that other British travellers who had visited his dominions in Central Africa had written in high praise of the administrative work of Belgian and Swedish officers. Neither he nor they stopped to consider that the countries where good work had been observed and praised were not districts handed over to the exclusive control of concessionnaire companies. He also relied on the testimony of the English Baptist missionaries, who were his faithful allies. They, too, described for the most part regions about the Congo cataracts and the more westerly part of the territory, which likewise did not lie under the thraldom of concessionnaire companies. In short, the King seems to have ascribed the bitter criticism of his administration in Congoland to envy and covetousness; in his eyes it was only another illustration of the old story—the British wolf maligning the Belgian lamb. He probably also took into account the fact that much of the depopulation of the Congo Free State in its eastern portions was not due to any oppressive acts on the part of Belgian administrators, but to the ravages of the sleeping-sickness; while he opined that, where abuses had resulted from letting loose negro soldiers against districts once in the possession of the Arab, these unfortunate incidents could possibly be paralleled by similar occurrences in British, French, and German Africa.

The credit of having at length aroused him from his contentment with things as they were is due in the main to one man, Mr E. D. Morel, formerly an employé in the great shipping house of Elder, Dempster and Co., of Liverpool. Mr Morel, who, we believe, is partly of French descent, had long taken an interest in the philosophic aspect of the white man's work in Africa. He wrote a succession of able articles on various subjects, chiefly connected with West Africa; and he has diligently studied the periodical literature of Belgium and France devoted to African questions. His sense of right and justice was offended by the French attempts to establish monopolies in the trade of French Congo, and by similar Belgian schemes which were eating out the heart of the Congo Free State. He commenced a series of brilliant attacks on both abuses, attacks which cost him much in the way of lost emolument; but he has gained his cause with a completeness which rarely falls to the lot of a reformer during his lifetime. In the first place, the British Government, though loth to interfere lest it should be suspected of *convoitise*, was induced to send its consul, Mr Roger Casement, an 'African' of acknowledged ability and experience, to visit some, if not all, of the concessionnaire territories where the abuses were alleged to exist. Mr Casement's temperate report brought to light a very serious state of affairs. Its accuracy was contested; but the King of the Belgians, after some delay, agreed to appoint a Commission of his own which should make an even more extended examination of the Congo Free State administration, and report to him direct.

His Majesty chose as his commissioners Belgian, Swiss, and Italian jurists. When the names of these commissioners were first published, their selection was received ungraciously by the British press. It was at once assumed that they would be mere creatures of the King-sovereign, and would render to him a docile report, denying, against all evidence, the truth of Consul Casement's allegations. In this, as perhaps in some other matters, an injustice has been done to King Leopold. His commissioners soon gained the confidence of the natives, and the respect and admiration of all types of missionaries in the Congo territories. There has been some delay, it is true, in the publication of their report; but, when it appeared on

October 30, 1905, it was (even if it has been slightly toned down before publication) the frankest and the most damaging indictment of the Congo Free State methods that could have appeared from an official source. It renders justice, it is true, to what many British travellers have been eager to point out—the splendid public works achieved on the Congo and its principal tributaries, and the enormous outlay of the King-sovereign's money in the material development of public resources; but it brings to light a state of affairs, as regards all the central basin of the Congo, which is quite as bad as anything depicted by Mr Morel and Consul Casement.

In short, these gentlemen do not seem to have made a single allegation that has not been proved. The most that can be said against Mr Morel is that he has, perhaps, stuck too exclusively to one side of the picture. He would never admit that, if Belgians or Europeans in Belgian employ had done grievous wrong in two thirds of the Congo, they had done great good to the aborigines in the remaining third. It was only on his failure to bring out this redeeming feature that Mr Morel met with any effective criticism at all. We need not refer to the vulgar abuse hurled at him by cosmopolitan *condottieri*; but his general statements were long contested by Englishmen, Americans, and Belgians of good repute, who had visited only those parts of the Congo Free State where there are no monopolist companies, and where the administrative work of the Belgian officials has been of undoubted merit. Perhaps also he did not bear in mind sufficiently that a good many of the evils which attended the first efforts of the Belgians to put down slavery, interneceine war, and general disorder could be found on close examination in contemporaneous British, French, German, or Portuguese work in neighbouring parts of Africa. But, for all time, the Congo natives in the first place, and secondly, Belgium and the King of the Belgians, will, or should, owe a debt of gratitude to Mr Morel. He has brought to light a most grievous wrong. He has convinced the chief person responsible for that wrong—King Leopold—of its existence. The King has assured the world that he has taken the report of his Commission to heart, and that he is about to establish a new committee, to devise for the Congo territories under his sway

a scheme of government which shall satisfy the conscience of the civilised world.

No doubt the outcome of the Congo Free State will be that Belgium will become the guardian of a Black State in Central Africa, and that Belgian commerce will profit richly by the honest development of this enterprise. International governments do not answer in the present imperfect development of humanity. A unified international conscience does not as yet exist. If a state is under the Belgian, Italian, British, German, or French flag, or the flag of any other civilised Power, the subjects of those states who go to work amongst the savages have some regard for the individual honour of their own country. They know that their own country has a definite standard of right and wrong, which may be applied even to the treatment of subject races; and that, if they err against that standard, they will incur opprobrium amongst their fellow-countrymen in their own homes. There is no such nice sensitiveness when the master is international, so to speak. Much the same wrong-doing as has been revealed in such a glaring way in the Congo Free State occurred in the old days in the Egyptian Sudan, amongst the mixed staff of British, Belgian, American, French, Austrian, Italian, German, Greek, and Levantine officials sent by the Khedive of Egypt to work under an Englishman or a Turk. Those who were naturally bad did not care what they did or what atrocities were committed in their name, because they were not there on behalf of their respective fatherlands, but merely as the servants of an irresponsible and distant ruler. So, though we believe to a less serious extent, it has been in parts of the Congo Free State; and the sooner the administration of that state becomes definitely Belgian and answerable to the Belgian national conscience, the better for the Congo, and the better for European rule in Africa.

Art. IV.—PLATO AND HIS PREDECESSORS.

1. *Greek Thinkers. A History of Ancient Philosophy.* By Theodor Gomperz, Professor at the University of Vienna. Authorised translation. Vol. I by Laurie Magnus; vols. II and III by G. G. Berry. London: Murray, 1901, 1905.
2. *The Evolution of Theology in the Greek Philosophers.* Gifford Lectures, 1901-2. By Edward Caird, LL.D. Two vols. Glasgow: Maclehose, 1904.
3. *The Myths of Plato.* Translated, with introductory and other observations, by J. A. Stewart, M.A. London: Macmillan, 1905.
4. *The Platonic Conception of Immortality and its connexion with the Theory of Ideas.* By R. K. Gaye, M.A. London: Clay, 1904.
5. *Platonstudien.* By Ferdinand Horn. Neue Folge. Vienna: Hölder, 1904.

THE interest in Greek civilisation, to judge by the steady stream of important and valuable works dealing with its various aspects, seems to be inexhaustible. It would be a mistake, however, to attribute this interest wholly to the gratitude of a society which is conscious of owing the sources of its spiritual wealth, its art, its science, its philosophy, and its theology, almost entirely to the inspirations of Greek genius. For, when a society has so organised itself as to endow a large number of able men for the purpose of studying the ancient languages, and has given them leisure to become learned, it may reasonably expect some intellectual returns from the highly protected industry it has fostered. Whether in the past it has always obtained good value from the traditional systems of classical education, it is needless to discuss. But there is no doubt that the growing danger lest the more direct utilitarianism of a more impatient age should crowd the study of Greek out of the curriculum even of a 'liberal' education, is acting as a salutary stimulus upon the interpreters of Greek culture. Its cause is now pleaded in a more humanly interesting and profitable way. The exactions of the pedantry which is the natural corruption of organised learning are being abated. Our educational practice is no longer quite so

firm in the faith that there is no mental discipline in knowledge acquired without repugnance; nor is our pedagogical theory quite so contemptuous of the psychologists' insistence on the value of interest, or of Aristotle's pathetically optimistic dictum that 'all men by nature desire knowledge.'

Nor should the shallow objection be admitted that everything worth saying about antiquity must already have been said long ago. For, apart from the fact that our knowledge of the past is still growing at no mean rate, it is assuredly not true that the past can undergo no change. Even where no alterations are introduced into the record of past events, an infinity of new meanings and connexions may be perceived in them by the growth of our knowledge. All historical accounts, moreover, rest more or less on selection and combination of the available material, emphasising what seem to the historian the essential features; and these have often to be supplemented by a conjectural filling-up of the gaps in our evidence. Thus differences of standpoint, method, and treatment may often make what is professedly the same tale very different in the telling, while the selection of special aspects for emphasis may engender real and substantial novelty. Hence it is that of the really vital events in history mankind will probably continue to need a fresh interpretation in every generation. Among such events the development of Greek thought must assuredly be counted. We shall find ample illustration of these remarks in the works selected for review.

We may begin with characterising the most ambitious and important work of the series, Professor Theodor Gomperz's 'Greek Thinkers,' planned to cover the whole history of Greek thought, and extending in these three volumes from Thales to Plato. In this learned, lucid, and brilliant narrative the veteran professor of Vienna has embodied the fruits of his lifelong studies in a masterly way. As it has, moreover, been ably and adequately translated by Mr Laurie Magnus and Mr G. G. Berry, we do not hesitate to predict that it will at once take rank as the standard history of Greek philosophy which is adapted to the taste of the present age. To say this is not to disparage the great work of Zeller, which will continue to be indispensable for professional students by reason of the full-

ness of its notes and of its references to the primary authorities and the controversies of the learned. Professor Gomperz, on the other hand, by excluding from his text the whole machinery of learning, adapts his work to a wider public, which is also likely to be attracted by a style more lively and readable than Zeller's. He has deliberately relegated the necessary notes and references to appendices, which, if anything, are too concise and technical.

In addition to these innovations of style and arrangement, the novelty of Professor Gomperz's treatment lies in the philosophic standpoint from which he has regarded the evolution of Greek thought. His sympathies are plainly with the empirical attitude towards the problems of life which is implied in the methods of modern science, and he is sedulous to point out the contributions to the making of science which we owe to the Greek thinkers, and aptly to illumine their doctrines by modern scientific analogues. This point of view necessarily brings with it a certain shifting of philosophic perspective, a certain 'transvaluation' of the traditional judgments about the comparative merits of various tendencies in Greek philosophy. The less impressive and imposing schools obtain a fuller appreciation than is usual when the attention is fascinated by the great systems of Plato and Aristotle. The vindication of the Sophists follows, and even outdoes, Grote's; the Atomists are praised at length; the services of the Cynics as the Friars of philosophy, who brought home the meaning of an unworldly life to the humblest circles, are remembered; the Cyrenaics are not merely regarded as a horrible example of the consequences of basely pursuing the pleasure of the moment.

In short, the value of the minor streams of Greek thought in fertilising the soil is generously recognised, while it is pointed out that the main stream which flows from Plato and Aristotle is finally lost in sterile deserts of apriorism and mysticism which contain no real nutriment for the human spirit. To Plato indeed Professor Gomperz evinces a desire to apply much the same treatment as Plato once wished to inflict on Homer: he 'crowns him with flowers' unstintingly, but expels him from the direct line of profitable thought. He does not shrink from pointing out the plentiful paralogisms scat-

tered through his works. He notes his inconsistencies, and despairs of 'unhusking' the kernel of a real system of Platonic philosophy; and he summarises his estimate of the historical import of Plato's influence in the dictum (iii, 266) 'without Plato we should have had no Aristotle, no Carneades, no Augustine.'

The philosophic background of Dr Caird's second series of lectures is, naturally, different. His Hegelian creed has apparently convinced him that the one truth worth preaching is that the universe is one; and he insists on this with an enthusiasm equal to that of the Eleatics, though with far greater fertility of phrase. In 'The Evolution of Theology in the Greek Philosophers,' Dr Caird has, it is true, selected a most interesting subject; but the restriction of his interest leads him to conceive it somewhat narrowly. He defines theology (i, 3) as 'at best the philosophy of religion, the reflective reproduction and explanation of it.' And he constantly regards this theological reflection as the real ratification of the religious consciousness, as if religion depended for its existence on such an *ex post facto* sanction; his attitude thus contrasting markedly with the more recent view which treats theology as a secondary reflexion that tries, and too often fails, to understand one of the great primary tendencies of human nature. Dr Caird's intellectualism, which surpasses even that of his classical prototypes, also comes out characteristically in his comments on the teleology of Anaxagoras and the Platonic Idea of Good (i, 127, 130); in both cases he substitutes for the doctrine that a thing is intelligible because, or when, it is good, the statement that it is good because it is intelligible.

The very *naïveté* of these *hystera protera* shows how ingrained is the intellectualism which has engendered them. We can see also, from the definition of religion as the consciousness of standing in vital relation to a supreme object of reverence and worship called God (i, 2), that Dr Caird's monistic preconceptions have immensely restricted his survey of the religious field. He cannot of course be expected to take note of inductive researches into the psychological varieties of actual religious sentiment such as have of late become so popular; but one might have thought that the existence of countless poly-

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theistic religions, of dualisms like the Zoroastrian, nay, of atheistic religions like the Buddhist, was too obtrusive an historical fact to be ruled out by a definition.

Dr Caird's interest in theology, moreover, is so predominantly metaphysical that he not only restricts himself to *one* of the psychological instincts which seek their satisfaction in the religious life, viz. the 'craving for unity,' but abstains almost entirely from dwelling on the ethical aspects of his subject. Now it may possibly be true that the closeness of the connexion between religion and morality has often been exaggerated on both sides, and that in actual fact not only is morality quite capable of existing apart from religion, but also that religion, in its more highly 'reflective' forms, has very little to do with morality, as indeed we have repeatedly been assured by high metaphysical authorities. But still it seems a mistake to exclude moral problems wholly from the reflections of 'theology.' And it can hardly be denied that historically a great deal of theological 'reflection' has been devoted to the moral purification of popular or traditional religions, and that Greek thinkers have contributed manfully to this painful but necessary process.

Again, it may be regretted that 'theology' should not have been construed as including *both* sides to the question, and that the brilliant achievements of Greek rationalism should have been passed over in silence. For, even though its main trend was anti-theological, yet its sustained protest against the superstition and corruption of popular creeds has often redounded to the truest interests of religion. Dr Caird's readers, therefore, may well feel that his book might have been enriched by a number of interesting chapters on the gallant and vigorous warfare against one of the most dazzling and demoralising of mythologies, carried on by the moralists from Socrates to Plutarch, and by philosophers of all schools, Cynics, Sceptics, and Epicureans, from Xenophanes (himself a great religious protestant as well as a monistic metaphysician) to Lucian. The Orphic and Pythagorean movement also well deserved a mention, alike for the permanent mark it has left on theology and for its influence on Plato.

Dr Caird confines himself severely to what may be called the main current of Greek philosophy. After a

brief mention of Socrates and the Eleatics he comes to Plato, whom he rightly regards as the greatest and, in a sense, the first of theologians, and proceeds thence through Aristotle and the Stoics to Plotinus. But his self-imposed limitations hinder him from doing justice to the many-sidedness even of Plato's theological activities. His great work as a critic and reformer of popular theology is hardly touched upon, nor are his originality and far-reaching influence as a maker of theological myths (exemplified especially by the creation-myth of the 'Timaeus') adequately emphasised. There is no mention of the 'Euthyphro,' with its famous dilemma as to the relation of good and God, which fits so badly into a truly monistic theology. And, though the ultimate dualism implied in Plato's belief in 'matter' is regrettably admitted and criticised, it is far from clear that Dr Caird perceives how impossible it was consistently to reach a thoroughly monistic philosophy from the assumptions common to all the non-materialistic Greek thinkers. The evil world-soul of the 'Laws' Dr Caird totally declines to swallow (i, 253). He attributes it either (unwarrantably) to the 'popular character of the "Laws"' or (improbably) to 'the pessimism of its editor,' Philippus of Opus. The space economised by these limitations of his subject Dr Caird fills by very full discussions of the metaphysics of Plato and Aristotle, which are quite worthy of their author's reputation, but do not require special examination here.

We have seen that Dr Caird's treatment even of Plato rests upon a considerable amount of selection. Just as he has concentrated his attention upon the metaphysician, so Professor Stewart has selected the poet in Plato's mighty and many-sided soul. He has extracted and translated the Myths which form so attractive a feature in Plato's literary career, and supplied them with a copious commentary and apt and poetical illustration. Into the whole he has woven an original but peculiar view as to the function of the Myth and the nature of poetry; and he concludes an interesting, though necessarily rather discursive, book with a paradoxical and perhaps subtly humorous attempt to show that the Oxford 'idealists' of the nineteenth century were not the nurslings of German metaphysics, but should be

affiliated to the quaint Cambridge Platonists of the seventeenth century.

In selecting the Myths for special treatment, Prof. Stewart has certainly hit upon a distinctive and not the least puzzling feature of Platonic philosophising, which no critical estimate can afford to shirk. His theory about the matter may be briefly stated thus. Life is prior to reflection; and its 'values' depend on 'feeling,' not on 'thought,' which has hard work to ratify the valuations and intimate convictions that well up from the unconscious or 'subliminal' depths of the soul. The poet is the prophet of this hidden oracle, which we consult by temporarily lapsing into a self-induced trance and so reinstating the dream-consciousness that was before the soul had disengaged itself from universal Nature and taken note of time. Or, translating into more technical language, poetry is rooted in the depths of the most 'irrational' part of the soul, which Professor Stewart, with a marked but pardonable deviation from Aristotle's terminology, calls the 'vegetative,' in order to indicate, presumably, its dreamy and unconscious* character. To the feeling which is nourished by these subconscious roots of our being and aroused by the poetic appeal, Professor Stewart appropriates the Kantian term *transcendental*, because,

'Transcendental Feeling—Faith in the Worth of Life—is not a datum of conscious experience, like this or that mode of Empirical Feeling; it does not merely supervene or come into consciousness; it is already involved in consciousness; it is the *a priori* condition of conscious activity; if we had it not, we should not endure to live and seek after the *a posteriori* data which make the content of life' (p. 389, note).

It is also that out of which subsequently 'the thinking faculty constructs its preposterous "ontology" or theory of a real world in which and of which it is good to be.'

Professor Stewart, it is clear, has strayed far from the beaten track of intellectualist 'orthodoxy'; and the fact that he has skilfully converted its familiar phrases

* It is worth noting that Professor Stewart uses this very ambiguous word more strictly than Dr Caird, with whom it usually means no more than 'unreflective' (cp. I, 39, 73, etc.). But even dreams are not strictly 'unconscious'; nor is a consciousness, however dim, which experiences succession, strictly 'timeless.'

to the uses of his 'heresy' does not detract from his offence. But, whether we consider it historically possible, or not, to ascribe to Plato, even 'implicitly,' the Kantian conception of the Ideas of Pure Reason, and profitable to interpret the Platonic Myth as awakening and regulating 'Transcendental Feeling (1) by imaginative representation of Ideas of Reason, and (2) by imaginative deduction of Categories of the Understanding and Moral Virtues' (p. 45), there can be no doubt of the suggestiveness of Professor Stewart's ingenious view. Only we are entitled to expect from him hereafter an interpretation also of the logical and metaphysical aspects of Platonism, which are foreign to the purview of his present study. To suggest merely that 'the Eternal Ideas' (of the 'Phaedrus') 'are, like their domicile, the Plain of Truth, creations of mythology' (p. 347), is tantalising; though, as we are still far from a solution of this vexed question, Professor Stewart has doubtless shown discretion in evading it.

Such a remark would certainly not apply to Mr Gaye's essay on 'The Platonic Conception of Immortality.' It takes us into the very heart of the Platonic problem and boldly discusses the variations in Plato's beliefs conditioned by his development of 'the later theory of Ideas' advocated by Dr Henry Jackson and Dr Archer-Hind. But his discipular dependence on this theory necessarily renders his book somewhat unsatisfactory to the reader. It inclines him to take shelter under the wings of authority whenever he is confronted by a perplexity; and the fact that the theory itself has not only not been established, but has not yet even been fully stated, renders that shelter very insecure. But the most fatal objection perhaps to Mr Gaye's book is that the theory upon which it is written depends apparently on the interpretation of the 'Timaeus.' Now the form of this dialogue is wholly mythical. It is, therefore, an indispensable preliminary to discuss, or at least to indicate, the place of the Myth in Platonic philosophy. But this Mr Gaye has not done. For the rest, his book is scholarly and clearly written.

Dr Horn's studies also are concerned with the Platonic problem. But his method is thoroughly independent, and consists of a careful analysis and examination of the argument of some of Plato's most important dialogues, with a view to testing thereby the fashionable opinions

as to their author's philosophic development. As we propose to return to this problem, it will suffice to say generally that Dr Horn's statements are always precise and to the point, and are set forth in very simple, clear, and forcible language.

After this survey of the literature we may return to the great problem constituted by the historical development of Greek thought. Its difficulty largely lies in the fact that, like so many of the products of Greek genius, it impresses us initially by an air of paradox. For in Greece the development of thought reverses the direction taken in all other nations. It begins apparently where the others end, and it ends where the others begin. Broadly viewed, the movement of Greek thought is from science to theology, or rather theosophy; elsewhere it starts from theology and struggles towards science. The emancipation from theological preoccupations, with which the scientific philosophy of the Ionians appears to have started, is an extraordinary and unique phenomenon. In Egypt, in Babylonia, in India, reflection never frees itself from the fascinations of religious speculation.

The religious independence of Greek thought therefore is utterly unparalleled. It is, moreover, psychologically unnatural. The natural development of a polytheistic religion when transformed by reflection is not into science, but into philosophic pantheism. The interest in the problem of life arises in a religious context: what more natural, therefore, than that the answers given should be couched in the familiar religious terms? The more so that these answers look easy and seem adequate. It is easy enough for thought to fuse the multitude of discrepant deities, the *ἀμεντὰ κάρηνα* of imperfectly personified gods, into one vast power which pervades the universe, *πολλῶν ὄνομάτων μορφὴ μία*. This process is typically shown in the evolution of Hindu thought. And pantheism is not only easy but also specious. At the various stages of its development it seems capable of satisfying all men's spiritual needs; to the end it satisfies one craving of perhaps the most reflective souls. Whoever conceives religion as nothing more than an emotional appreciation of the unity of the universe may rest content with pantheism, and even derive from its

obliteration of all differences a delirious satisfaction. Whoever demands more—for example, a moral order and a guiding and sympathising personality—will fail to get it from any theory which identifies God with the totality of being.

But a mighty effort at clear and persistent thinking is needed to perceive these limitations; and, scientifically at first, pantheism seems adequate enough. It needs a very clear grasp of the nature of science to perceive that the One is as useless scientifically as it is morally, because a principle which explains everything, whether it be called 'God' or 'the Devil,' or conceived as the 'higher synthesis' of both, really explains nothing. If, however, we seem to ourselves to have reached the conviction that the one thing really worth knowing is that all is Brahma, or 'the Absolute,' and that plurality is but phenomenal illusion, why should we trouble laboriously to unravel the intricate web of a multitude of partial processes, to study the relations of a multitude of partial beings, as if they were real and important and independent, and as if anything they could do or suffer could in any wise affect the absolute and immutable truth of the one reality? Pantheism, therefore, is prejudicial to science; and Greece was fitted to become the birthplace of science by the fortunate circumstance that in Greece alone philosophic pantheism was developed too late to destroy all the germs of scientific progress. It makes its appearance indeed in the Eleatic philosophy, significantly enough disguising its anti-scientific bias in the delightfully stimulating paradoxes of Zeno; but its sterilising influence could never overpower the original Greek tendency to pry unceasingly into every fact that an infinitely various world presented.

We may therefore regard the non-religious and non-pantheistic character of early Greek philosophy as connected with the genesis of science, and also connect these anomalies with the striking uniqueness of all the really important things in history. Science, like civilisation, has only been invented once. Monotheism arises similarly through an anomaly of religious development which, elsewhere than in Judaea, reached unity only by sacrificing personality. A similar refusal to give up the personality of the divine probably underlies the failure of philosophic reflection to transform Greek

popular religion into a pantheism. But in Greece the motives for this refusal were certainly different. The philosophers could not effect a unification of Olympus, because the personality of the gods was strong enough to resist the merger. But this personality did not rest on moral or intellectual conceptions ; it was essentially an *aesthetic* or artistic thing. The clearness and intensity with which the Greeks conceived their gods under definitely sensuous shapes is one of the earliest and most distinctive features of their religion. Homer already could use the divine shapes as standards for the description of human beings. Agamemnon, he tells us, went to battle with head and eyes like thunder-loving Zeus, with a waist like Ares and a chest like Poseidon.

Thus the gods possessed an artistic, humanly beautiful, personality, uncorrupted by the un*aesthetic* symbolism which encumbers Hindu deities with superfluous limbs. And we may be sure that, as Greek sculpture developed its glories, it would become less and less plausible to confound Apollo with Ares, or Athene with Aphrodite. If, therefore, the philosophers had ever attempted to interpret the gods into a unity, they would have found that Zeus, for example, was so essentially the god with hyacinthine locks that it was absurd to transfigure him into a cosmic unity. To do them justice, they never seriously attempted it ; they were glad enough that the lack of organisation of the popular cults and the non-existence of a professional priesthood permitted them to pursue their scientific researches with only nominal concessions to the established forms of divine worship.

Professor Gomperz admirably brings out the dominance of this scientific interest in the early Greek philosophy. In dealing with the whole of pre-Platonic philosophy, the historian is, of course, woefully hampered by the fragmentary condition of his material. He has to reconstruct systems of thought out of scanty references and more or less casual quotations in later writers, who are usually biased, and often careless or incompetent. The palaeontologist's task in reconstructing fossils from a tooth or a bone is child's play in comparison ; for the bones, at least, of *Pithecanthropus erectus* (the missing link) cannot lie, while in Greece the Cretans had many rivals.

At times, therefore, the process of writing a history

of early Greek philosophy rather resembles that of making bricks without clay out of the scattered straws of a dubious tradition. At others, we get singularly suggestive but ambiguous glimpses, which suggest alternative interpretations, between which it is impossible to decide. For example, our accounts of Anaximander's doctrine are so wretchedly inadequate that we may please ourselves as to how far we believe him to have carried his anticipations of Darwinism. If we choose to suppose that the tatters of his reasoning, which their very quaintness has preserved, were merely childish guesses of an infant science, we shall regard these anticipations merely as coincidences. If, on the other hand, we note the singular acuteness of the observations and the cogency of the reasoning which they still display, there is little to hinder us from hailing him as the scientific discoverer of organic evolution. Professor Gomperz inclines rather to the former view; but he might have changed his opinion if he had noted how clearly and completely Anaximander anticipated the argument for evolution from the helplessness of the human infant. Our record runs as follows ('Plut. Strom.' 2, *Doxogr.* 579, 17) :—

'Further, he says that man originally was generated from animals of a different kind, seeing that other animals are quickly able to manage for themselves, whereas man alone requires protracted nursing. Wherefore he could not as such originally have been preserved.'

Could the case be put more concisely or scientifically?

The scientific promise of the Ionian philosophy is so great that it becomes a legitimate perplexity to account for the fact that it was so imperfectly fulfilled, and that, after making steady progress for three centuries, science should begin to languish shortly after Aristotle had codified knowledge and apparently provided the sciences with a firm platform for more extensive operations. It is part of the same puzzle that the Greeks, though, as Professor Gomperz is careful to notice, they undoubtedly experimented (i, 291), never did so systematically, and that, in spite of their devotion to mathematics and enthusiasm for 'measure,' they never had recourse to exact measurements or constructed instruments of

precision. Why, a modern is disposed to wonder, when it had been perceived that 'all things flow,' was not the next question, 'at what rate?' Why, when it had been laid down that 'man is the measure of all things,' was not the next question, 'how, then, does he measure?'

We believe that it is possible to point out some, at least, of the influences which conduced to the disappointing end of Greek philosophy. Experimentation demands manual dexterity and familiarity with mechanisms, as well as ingenuity. In a slave-holding society, however, anything savouring of manual training is despised as illiberal and 'banausic.' 'No gentleman,' says Plutarch, 'however much he may admire the Olympian Zeus or the Argive Hera, would like to have been their sculptor, a Phidias or a Polycletus.' The rise of Sophistry is sometimes regarded as another reason for the progressive alienation from science exhibited by Greek thought. And there is some truth in this. The natural acuteness of the Greek mind and the great practical value of forensic and political speechifying no doubt tended to an over-development of dialectical habits of thought. As Professor Gomperz says (iii, 88),

'the preference for dialectic expressed here and elsewhere in Plato bespeaks an intellectual attitude which is almost the opposite of that of modern science. For him all that is given in experience counts as a hindrance and a barrier to be broken through: we, on the other hand, are learning to content ourselves more and more with what is so given.'

But, as his example shows, it would be most unjust to render the Sophists responsible for this. The great humanistic movement of the fifth century B.C., of which they were the leaders, is appreciated by Professor Gomperz at its true value. Following Grote, he points out that the source of the whole development lay in the political situation. The rise of democracies rendered a higher education and a power of public speaking indispensable to political influence, and—what acted probably as a still stronger incentive—to the safety of the life and property, particularly of the wealthier classes. The Sophists, 'half professors, half journalists,' or as one might perhaps say, with a still closer approximation to modern conditions, 'university-extension lecturers

hampered by no university,' professed to supply this great requisite of practical success. As Professor Gomperz tersely puts it (i, 417), in so litigious a place as Athens they resembled 'professors of fencing in a community where the duel is an established institution.'

The result was a great development of rhetoric and dialectic, to which, it may be noted, Socrates (whom it is quite unhistorical to oppose to the Sophists) appears to have contributed the invention of the art of cross-examination, which Plato, when it suits him, denounces as 'eristic.' Naturally, however, this sophistic education was not popular with those who were too poor or too niggardly to avail themselves of it, i.e. with the extreme democrats and the old conservatives: it seemed to bestow an unfair advantage on those who had enjoyed it. Further reasons for the bad name acquired by the Sophists are to be found in the jealous polemic directed by the philosophers (especially by Plato) against rival teachers, and in what Professor Gomperz calls 'the caprice of language' (i, 422). This, however, was more properly an accident in the history of logic. When the Sophists first began to reflect on reasoning, they had to make logic along with rhetoric and grammar. They naturally fell into many errors, which their successors gradually corrected. And so, what was of value in their logical researches came to be appropriated by later logicians (Plato, and, above all, Aristotle), while their crude failures clung to them and engendered the absurd impression that 'Sophists' were men foolish enough to specialise in bad reasoning.

Intrinsically, then, there was no reason why this great intellectual movement should have injured scientific interests. It ought more properly to have broadened their basis by adding the psychological and moral enquiries, the sciences of man, to those of nature; and perhaps there actually was a chance of events taking this course if only the great idea of Protagoras had been scientifically interpreted and properly elaborated. His famous dictum that 'man is the measure of all things' must be ranked even above the Delphic 'know thyself' as compressing the largest quantum of vital meaning into the most compact form. It must be admitted of course that we do not know its exact

context and scope, and so can interpret it in various ways. But, however we understand it, it is most important and suggestive, and, in every way but one, it is a fundamental truth. That one way, of course, is Plato's; and of it more anon. It might have proved impossible to refute his version of Protagoras, if it had not lapsed into discrepancies within itself. Even as it stands, it is plausible enough to have mostly been accepted without cavil; and even those who realised the danger of accepting Plato's polemics without a grain of salt have often been beguiled by it. Even Professor Gomperz, though fully alive to the importance of Protagoras, thinks it incumbent on him to deny the dictum's plain application to the individual, and to insist that 'man' must be understood generically. Dr Horn (p. 208) is quite entitled to protest against this. But it does not follow that Plato's rendering is authentic. Indeed we take it that the extraordinary value and suggestiveness of Protagoras' dictum largely reside in the conciseness which has led to these divergent interpretations.

Their great mistake is that each should lay claim to exclude the other. For this procedure, however, there is neither logical nor linguistic warrant. Protagoras may well have chosen an ambiguous form in order to indicate both the subjective and the objective factor in human knowledge and the problem of their connexion. Initially, no doubt, his dictum emphasises the subjective factor. Whatever appears to each, that really *is*—to him. And also to others—in so far as they have to deal with him and his ideas. Hallucinations, illusions, whims, individual preferences and private judgments, idiosyncrasies of every kind, *are* real; and woe betide any thinker or manager of men who fancies that he can ignore them with impunity! It is a fact, moreover, that individuals are infinitely different, and that the more carefully they are studied the less safe does it seem to lump them all together. To have been the first to have an inkling of all this was Protagoras' great achievement, for the sake of which science owes him an eternal debt of gratitude.

The subjective interpretation therefore of the dictum embodies a great scientific truth; and it is astonishing that this should have been ignored in order to denounce

it as subversive of all truth. For there was surely no occasion to conceive it as denying what it did not state directly, the objectivity of truth, and to assume Protagoras to have been unaware of this. The fact that a man makes a great discovery does not necessarily deprive him of all common-sense. And that there *is* objective truth, in some sense 'common' to mankind, is a matter of common notoriety. That reality for us is relative to our faculties is likewise a clear truth which must be assumed even in questioning it. Man, therefore, is the measure also in the generic sense of man; and it is very unlikely that Protagoras should have overlooked these obvious facts. Nor had he any motive to ignore them. There only remains, therefore, the question of what is the connexion between the two senses in which the dictum is true. What, in other words, is the transition from subjective truth for the individual to objective truth for all? That we must pass from the one to the other, and succeed in doing so, is obvious; but how we do so forms a very pretty problem. And to any scientifically disposed mind it should have been clear that here was a splendid subject for research, e.g. along the lines since taken by modern psychological experiment. Conceived, therefore, in a scientific spirit, the Protagorean dictum yields great openings for science.

But is there any reason to suppose that Protagoras himself conceived it so, and had formed any ideas as to how objective truth arose? Constructively his 'strictly empirical method' (Gomperz i, 455), and the caution and candour implied in his complaint (for which he suffered martyrdom) that he had never been able to obtain trustworthy information about the gods, almost entitles us to answer both these questions in the affirmative. But much more direct evidence can be extracted from Plato's polemic. In the 'Theætetus' (166) Protagoras is represented as replying that though one man's perceptions could not be truer than another man's they might yet be better; in other words, he is represented as recognising distinctions of value among the individual perceptions which do not differ in reality. Now it is very unlikely that Plato invented this distinction for him. For in the subsequent discussion he fails to answer it, and shows no grasp of its scope and significance; and, to this day, the

part played by valuations in the constitution of truth and reality is hardly yet admitted.

If, then, this doctrine, that truth is a valuation, can really be attributed to Protagoras, it is easy for us to see how it might provide him with the means of passing from subjective to objective judgments in a perfectly scientific way. For, if there is a mass of subjective judgments varying in value, there must ensue a selection of the more valuable and serviceable, which will, in consequence, survive and constitute growing bodies of objective truth, shared and agreed upon by practically all. It is probable that the general agreement about sense perceptions has actually been brought about by a process of this sort; and it is still possible to observe how society coerces or cajoles those who are inclined to divergent judgments in moral or æsthetic matters. And, though no doubt Protagoras himself could not have put the point as clearly as the discovery of natural selection enables us to do, it seems highly probable that he saw at least the beginnings of the very real connexion between the two meanings of his dictum.

Plato's interpretation, therefore, of the Protagorean dictum is merely a trick of his anti-empiricist polemic. To say that the axiom 'man is the measure of all things' necessarily conducts to subjectivism and to scepticism is simply not true; for, to a mind desirous of scientific knowledge, it should be fertile only of a multitude of instructive observations and experiments. Unfortunately this was not the spirit in which it was received. A spirit of dialectical refutation cared nothing for the varieties of physical endowment and of psychical reaction; it took no interest in the problems and methods of scientific measurement. The question, 'If man is the measure, then how do we manage to measure?' was not raised. What was raised was the unfair, untrue, and uninstructive cry, 'then knowledge becomes impossible!' The levity with which this outcry rises to the lips of *a priori* metaphysicians is as extraordinary as the vitreousness of the abodes which ultimately house their own convictions. It has often been remarked that the 'deceptions' and 'contradictions' of the senses, which, to the ancients, provided only texts for sceptical lamentation and excuses for taking refuge in 'supra-sensible' Ideas

(which were really nothing more than the acquired meanings of words), have yielded to modern energy valuable starting-points for scientific enquiries. For the dialectician the fact that a stimulus may seem both hot and cold simultaneously would merely be a contradiction; it leads the man of science to the discovery of the 'cold' and 'hot' spots of cutaneous sensibility.

Another parallel is afforded by the treatment of Heraclitus' great discovery of the universality of process or change. It, too, was taken to mean that knowledge was impossible, as if forsooth men were usually altered beyond recognition overnight, and rivers changed their courses daily. If, instead of indolently contenting themselves with a qualitative enunciation of its truth, a quantitative estimation of the universal process had been attempted, the Greeks might well have anticipated some of the most signal triumphs of modern science; and, it may be added, they would speedily have convinced themselves of the practical innocuousness of the Flux, and perhaps even have learnt, from the impossibility of any but relative determinations, that practical limitations and a relation to practical application are inherent in the very nature of truth. But this assumes that they wanted to know, and were willing to contemplate these doctrines in a scientific spirit. And this is just where the Greeks lamentably failed.

That the Hellenic will to know scientifically gave out at this point is a fact which must certainly be connected most vitally with the appearance of the stupendous genius whom history knows only by his nickname, Plato. This extraordinary man was equally great as a writer and as a thinker. He was at once a poet and a philosopher, a prophet and a professor, an initiator and an imitator, a theologian and a sceptic; and he excelled in all these parts. Regarded from the literary side, he is admirable as a parodist, as a maker of stories and inventor of fairy-tales, as a delineator of character, as a critic, as a dissector of arguments. Regarded as a thinker, he maintains in equipoise, as Professor Gomperz says (ii, 249), the most contrary excellences. 'On the one hand there is the power of constructing a massive edifice of thought; on the other is the piercing subtlety by which that edifice

is again and again undermined.' Regarded as a wit, he was capable of the most reckless raillery, the most savage satire, the gentlest humour, and a *persiflage* so graceful that Aristophanes compared with him seems coarsely farcical; and yet in his serious moods he could reach heights of solemnity in which the least hint of comedy would seem a profanation. Despite, or perhaps by reason of, a life-long devotion to philosophy, he never scrupled to deride the pretensions of philosophers. The most devoted of disciples, he yet became the most potent of masters. One of the world's great artists, he was yet one of the most puritanical of the censors of art. The idealising apologist of erotic passion, he was also the most austere of moralists and the eulogist of asceticism. A typical intellectualist, he was also intensely emotional. By birth a man of quality, he yet knew how to withdraw from the world of fashion without offending it: an abstainer from political life, he was yet the most inspiring of radical reformers: by turns a councillor of princes and a recluse in the groves of Academe.

It is plain that no great man has laid upon the world a harder task in imposing on it 'the duty of understanding him'; and it is no wonder that posterity has but imperfectly succeeded. We read his writings, preserved for us in far more perfect shape than those of any other ancient thinker, and are plunged in unending perplexities as to their meaning. We listen to the comments of one of his immediate pupils, and doubt whether, after eighteen years of intimacy, Aristotle's genius fully comprehended Plato's. We flatter ourselves that we should understand him better if we knew more facts about the historical order of his works and the circumstances which evoked them, and hope by the minutest tabulation of his tricks of style to extort the secrets of their history. But Plato was master of so many styles, and could parody himself with such consummate ease, that it is no wonder that the conclusions of 'stylometry' are dubious, and hardly compatible with any coherent view of Plato's philosophic development. Moreover, even if we knew the facts we now desiderate, it is quite probable that our perplexities would only recur in subtler forms. For they ultimately spring from the personality of their author.

The core of the Platonic problem is Plato's personality,

a personality whose diversity and many-sidedness is the delight of his readers and the despair of his critics. How can the clumsy canons of a formal criticism ever determine what degree of seriousness and literality attaches to any Platonic statement, and how far its meaning should be modified by a touch of irony, of humour, of satire, of imagination? The simplest even of Platonic myths is infinitely baffling. Who will undertake to expound its meaning fully, to determine where precisely its formal teaching melts into its imaginative setting, how much of its detail was premeditated, how much of it the spontaneous outgrowth of the fairy-tale? What again of the dialogue form? What, at any point, is the working compromise between the dogmatic and the dramatic interest by which the course of the proceedings is determined? No one, assuredly, who has ever tried so far to enter into Plato's spirit as to imitate his literary methods, will delude himself into thinking that these questions are ever likely to be answered with exactness. Plato's personality is far too rich for the precise analysis all pedants love. And yet perhaps we may observe a glaring gap even in the far-extended spectrum of this giant soul. It seems incapable of vibrating in response to the enlightenment of merely empirical fact; and this defect has had tremendous consequences. For similarly constituted souls are common; and Plato has become their greatest spokesman. Yet ultimately the whole world is empirical and all that therein is. However, therefore, we may try to hedge round portions of it against the intrusions of the unexpected, the very facts that our hedges can withstand intruders, that we desire to keep them in repair, and that all this will continue to be true, are as empirical as the greatest brute of a fact against which our reason sought protection.

We must affirm, therefore, that Plato's anti-empirical bias renders him profoundly anti-scientific, and that his influence has always, openly or subtly, counteracted and thwarted the scientific impulse, or at least diverted it into unprofitable channels. The potency of this influence may best be gauged by observing how completely Plato's great pupil, Aristotle, has succumbed to his spell. For, if ever there was a typically scientific mind, it was Aristotle's. That he should revolt against his master was

inevitable for many reasons. That he should assail the citadel of Plato's power, the theory of the Ideas, in which Plato had hypostasised and deified the instruments of scientific research and uplifted them beyond the reach of human criticism, evinced a sound strategic instinct. But, in the end, his spirit also proved unable to escape out of the magic circle of conceptual realism, which he renders more prosaic without making it more consistent or more adequate to the conduct of life. Indeed his analytic sharpness, by exaggerating into opposition the rivalry between practical and theoretic interests, which Plato had sought to reconcile in too intellectualist a fashion, probably contributed, much against his intentions, an essential motive to that alienation from scientific endeavour which marks the decline and fall of Greek philosophy.

It has already been suggested that the theory of Ideas was the fountain-head whence flowed Plato's baleful influence on the growth of knowledge. This influence it would be hard to overrate. The cognitive function of the Concept, which Socrates (if we conceive ourselves to have any really authentic information about his doctrine) may perhaps be said to have discovered, was so exalted and exaggerated by Plato that it became the subtlest and most dangerous of obstacles to the attainment of the end it is its proper function to subserve. And so, wherever there is hypostasisation and idolatry of concepts, and wherever these interpose between the mind and things, wherever they lead to disparagement of immediate experience, wherever the stubborn rigidity of prejudice refuses to adapt itself to the changes of reality, wherever the delusive answers of an *a priori* dialectic leave unanswered questions of inductive research, wherever words lure and delude, stupefy and paralyse, there Truth is sacrificed to Plato, even by barbarians who have never heard his name. The Ideal Theory is analogous to a stranger torpedo-ray than that to which Plato in the 'Meno' likens Socrates. Itself one of the great achievements of the human intellect, it both electrifies the mind with brilliant vistas of supra-sensible dominion for the soul, and yet numbs and paralyses some of its highest functions. For it deludes us into thinking that man was made for Ideas, to behold and contemplate them for ever, and not Ideas for man and by man, to serve the ends of action.

Not the least extraordinary fact about this wondrous theory is that, strictly speaking, we do not even know what precisely it was. The culminating point of conceptual Idealism has always been screened by impenetrable clouds from the gaze of the faithful as of the profane; and the former have always had to accept a 'myth' in lieu of the final revelation of truth absolute. The justification of this assertion is necessarily somewhat technical, but will go far to initiate us into the secret of Plato's fascination.

That there is some ground for doubting whether any one really knows what exactly the Ideal Theory was, may be perceived when we ask how many ideal theories Plato really had. For it seems impossible to trace a single consistent view throughout his writings; and in the course of fifty or sixty years of authorship even a strenuous denier of the Flux may change his views. It is plain, moreover, that new problems, new difficulties, and new points of view sprang up in Plato's mind, though usually we cannot say how far they modified his earlier convictions. The critics, however, agree that the Ideal Theory is not one but several, and that an earlier may be distinguished from a later form thereof.

The earlier theory, as described e.g. by Zeller, forms the typical or standard Platonism to which the others are referred. It is extracted mainly from the 'Meno,' the 'Phædrus,' the 'Phædo,' and the 'Republic,' and is certainly the most picturesque and fascinating form of conceptual Idealism. It describes the true home of the soul in a supra-sensible super-celestial world of True Being, where, pure, incorporeal, and without passions, it leads a holy and eternal life, contemplating the beauty and excellent harmony of the Ideas, the indivisible and immutable archetypes of the fleeting phenomena that flow in multitudinous confusion before our dazzled senses. Thence it is driven (by some inscrutable necessity) to make periodical descents into the perishable world of Sense, which is not truly real, but is saved from utter unreality by its relation to the Ideas in which it can mysteriously 'participate.' To know such a world, but for the Ideas, would be impossible, and to know is really to remember these. The weak point in this theory lies in the difficulty of conceiving the connexion between the

Ideal world and the phenomenal, i.e. the precise nature of 'participation.' That in some sense Plato felt this weakness is brilliantly attested by the incisive criticism of what seems to be his own theory in the 'Parmenides.'

On the strength of this it is commonly supposed that Plato must have altered his views; and the evolution of his 'later theory of Ideas' is thought to be traceable in a series of critical and 'dialectical' dialogues, which include also the 'Theætetus,' the 'Sophist,' and the 'Politicus.' The puzzle, however, is to find the theory. It must lurk either in what are regarded as his latest works, the 'Laws,' the 'Philebus,' and the 'Timæus,' or in the oral lectures, of which Aristotle's 'Metaphysics' give a very obscure and polemical account. But the search through the 'Laws' and the 'Philebus' yields little that is enlightening, while the 'Timæus' is so mythical in form that it is hard—or fatally easy—to find anything therein. Nevertheless a 'later theory of Ideas' has been extracted or constructed. Its distinguishing marks are, the substitution of an ideal exemplar (*παράδειγμα*), which is copied or imitated by the sensible, for the discarded notion of 'participation' (*μέθεξις*); the restriction of Ideas to 'natural kinds'; the reduction of 'not-being' to difference; and the recognition of the efficacy or spiritual activity of the Ideas which converts them into efficient causes.

Unfortunately this 'later theory of Ideas' is by no means well authenticated. The external evidence is dead against it. Aristotle also has a notion of a 'later' Platonic theory. But he represents the ageing Plato not as soaring to an absolute idealism, but as sinking more and more into childish habits of pythagoreanising. Professor Gomperz points out (iii, 246-7) that this is confirmed by the growing importance of mathematics shown in the creative methods of the 'Timæus' and in the educational methods of the 'Laws,' in which they wholly take the place of 'dialectic.' For the restriction of Ideas to 'natural kinds' some Aristotelian support may, it is true, be invoked. But is it not unfortunate for this aspect of the 'later theory' that in the 'Parmenides' this very procedure should be derided as a youthful error? And we shall presently see reason to doubt whether it was an improvement. In any case, Aristotle's account of Platonism does not at all square with the

theory of a substantially altered 'later' theory. The theory he mainly combats is the old one; he parades all the old objections of the 'Parmenides' without a doubt of their complete relevance,* nay, with an air of having invented them himself.† As Professor Gomperz says (iii, 328), to suppose that Aristotle misunderstood Plato's fundamental doctrine is a monstrous assumption. And, we may add, a futile one. For it makes out Aristotle to have been either a fool, if he could not understand it, or a knave, if he knowingly misrepresented it. Or rather, in this case, he would have been a fool as well as a knave if he supposed that his iniquitous procedure could escape the censure of Plato's other pupils.

The 'later theory of Ideas' appeals essentially to internal evidence. But here also its case is none too strong. Professor Gomperz, who is a friendly critic and accepts the order of the Platonic dialogues which the theory demands, has to call attention to the persistence of phrases characteristic of the 'earlier' theory, even in the 'Timaeus.' And Dr Horn boldly challenges the fashionable placing of the 'dialectical' dialogues after the 'Republic.' Far from agreeing with Professor Gomperz (iii, 357) that the latest of them, the 'Statesman,' is 'manifestly the bridge leading from the "Republic" to the "Laws,"' he argues forcibly that it is quite a preliminary sketch, which would have been pointless after the 'Republic.' And the logical point involved when the same author treats the same subject twice with more and less fullness clearly does not admit of absolute decision. The later version may be either an elaboration of an earlier sketch or a succinct reference to a fuller treatment. It is fallacious, also, to assume that, because a

* His objection that the Ideas are not efficient causes would be particularly curious and inept if Plato had adhered to the alleged discovery of the 'Sophist' (247) that substance is activity, and had thereby anticipated Aristotle's own conception of *energeia*.

† If we can put the 'Parmenides' so late as 360 B.C., it is just possible that he did. For we can then read this puzzling dialogue as an attempt by Plato to abate the conceit of his obstreperous pupil by narrating a fictitious parallel to an existing situation in the form of a discussion between the venerable Parmenides and the youthful Socrates. In the self-criticism of 'Parmenides' which follows, an earlier 'Aristotle' is satirically made to give his later namesake a lesson in manners by prettily and anably answering just what is required, because he is too 'young' to raise vexatious objections. But the dates seem an insuperable obstacle.

theory has been remodelled, it has been improved. So here. Even Professor Gomperz, who believes in a 'later' theory, but holds that it did not answer the 'Parmenides,' and amounted really to 'consigning the Ideas to a sphere of dignified repose in conferring upon them divine rank' (iii, 181), has to admit that in some respects its transformation was retrograde (iii, 173).

This possibility is the less negligible because the 'later theory of Ideas' comes out very badly under logical examination. Its advocates seem unable to show us how it escapes from the dilemmas of the 'Parmenides.' How does the suggestion that the Ideas are models for sensible phenomena to imitate bridge the dualistic chasm between the worlds of 'reality' and of 'appearance'? If 'Ideas' and 'things' are different in essence and unrelated in function, how can they be so connected that the things can take cognisance enough of the Ideas to imitate them? In the 'Timæus' Plato escapes the difficulty by the divine fiat of his Demiurge; but this expedient the modern 'friends of the Ideas' would certainly consider 'mythical.' The question is the more urgent because somewhere or other it reappears in all systems of conceptual Idealism.

Moreover it would seem that this later version of the Ideas is very fatal to their logical function. If phenomena become intelligible only by being subsumed under concepts, there must be Ideas of everything that can be predicated, of relations and of artefacts, of hair and dirt and evil, of doubleness and if-ness; their restriction to 'natural kinds,' despite its metaphysical attractiveness, is the grossest logical inconsequence. And that a desire to justify the procedures of predication and to explain the nature of knowledge was one of the main motives of the Ideal Theory is undeniable, although Plato does not make this as explicit as its metaphysical aspect. Nor can we be wrong in thinking that he intended it logically also as a *via media* between Eleaticism and Heracliteanism, both of which seemed to him to render significant assertion incomprehensible. But, to serve this logical purpose, the Ideas had to be conceived after the fashion of his 'earlier' theory. They had to be single, stable, self-identical predicates common (i.e. applicable) to an infinite plurality of particulars. They had to live in a

world apart, in order to transcend the Flux that would otherwise have swamped them. They had to have communion *inter se*, in order that the connexions of our predications might be absolutely validated by conforming to those of their eternal archetypes. They had to be immutable: for how else could truth be absolute?

Whatever the difficulties, therefore, which they might seem to involve, they could not be disavowed without, in Plato's way of thinking, abolishing the very notion of truth and all knowledge of reality. It is quite probable therefore that, despite the 'Parmenides,' he never really made concessions to criticism; and that all the objections he encountered only seemed to him to argue logical incapacity to grasp the cogency of the grounds on which his theory reposed.* And in a manner he was right. The logical cohesion of the fabric of his thought was such that no one who had once attributed to concepts a reality superior to that of the phenomena they interpret could question it without succumbing ultimately to the very difficulties brought against himself.†

The only real escape from his embarrassments lay in a direction in which he could not and would not look for it, viz. in a radical recognition of the functional and instrumental nature of the Concept. But this would have involved a rehabilitation of the senses and of immediate experience, and a complete remodelling of Plato's conceptions of truth and reality. Even if by some strange chance he had caught a glimpse of this way out, he would have averted his eyes from the impious spectacle. The view that concepts are not unalterable and are only relatively constant (like mere material things), being essen-

* The only way of accounting for the 'Parmenides' and for the reiteration of its arguments by Aristotle, which is compatible with a belief on Plato's part that the Ideal Theory was still sound, would be so to conceive his theory that it would seem manifestly open to such criticism in Aristotle's eyes (and ours), but not in Plato's; thus precluding Plato from giving any other but the indirect reply which he gives to what he thought a culpable, and we must think an inevitable, misunderstanding. Such an interpretation is not, perhaps, as difficult as it looks; but this is not the place to give it.

† It is significant in this connexion that Aristotle, after all his denunciation of Plato's *χωρισμός*, has to conceive his own *νοῦς* as *χωριστός*, has to postulate a transcendent deity who is really quite disengaged from the universe and acts upon it only by the magic of its inherent desire, and is quite unable to explain how the 'universal' becomes immanent in the 'particular.'

tially tools slowly fashioned by a practical intelligence for the mastery of its experience, whose value and truth reside in their application to the particular cases of their use, and not in their timeless validity nor in their supersensible *otium cum dignitate* in a transcendent realm of abstractions, would have seemed to him as paradoxical and monstrous and unsatisfying as it still does to his belated followers. And yet it is this notion of truth, this insight into the function of Ideas, which the working of science has slowly brought to light after many centuries of incessant and by no means always successful struggle against the glamour of the gorgeous castles which Platonism has erected in and out of the air.

And so, with Professor Gomperz, we stop, for the present, short of Aristotle, the great consolidator of Platonism, and the greatest and most ungrateful pupil a great philosopher was ever troubled with. It was fitting that, after the master of all who aspire, should come the 'master of those who know,' and establish an empire over the thoughts of men as lasting as that of the Caesars, and as essentially Greek as the latter was essentially Roman. For, even as 'the divine Julius' won a power which the soberer genius of Augustus was needed to organise, so the revelations of 'the divine Plato' had to be condensed into the technical formulas of Aristotle. And, as the keen insight of Hobbes truly detected in the papacy but 'the ghost of the Roman Empire sitting crowned upon the grave thereof,' so the whole phantasmagoria of modern philosophy often suggests to us little but a confused reminiscence of the great philosophic dynasty of Greece. Quite recently, indeed, the banner of what may prove to be a final revolt has visibly been raised; but is it not still inscribed with the hallowed Hellenic watchwords of *Γνῶθι σεαυτὸν* and *Δινθρωπος μέτρον?*

F. C. S. SCHILLER.

Art. V.—FANNY BURNEY.

Diary and Letters of Madame d'Arblay (1778-1840), as edited by her niece, Charlotte Barrett. With preface and notes by Austin Dobson. Six vols. London: Macmillan, 1904-5.

It will soon be a hundred years since the author of 'Evelina' died; and her fame can never again be what it was after she achieved that sudden and surprising success. And yet there is a sense in which Miss Burney is, after Miss Austen, the very first and greatest of her sex. Other women have done greater things. In literature, for instance, the art which above all others seems to smile upon women, no one will rank her with Sappho, or with Charlotte or Emily Brontë; few perhaps will rank her with George Eliot. And there are several French women who would claim to be more than her equals. But then the things by which these great names shine—the passion of Sappho, for instance, and her final felicity of phrase, the angry energy of soul of the Brontës, the large wisdom and wide humanity of George Eliot—are not things specially feminine at all. They are in fact things not so often found in women as in men. The triumph in these cases, then, consists in showing that women can enter the fields that belong to men and dispute the prize. But Fanny Burney's triumph and Jane Austen's are something quite different from that. It is their special gift to keep us always at our ease in their parlour, and yet to win and interest us as much as those who carry us over all the seas of human power or passion; that is to say, their triumph lies in showing that they can rival men without once leaving their own peculiar field.

This is even truer of Miss Burney than of her greater successor. Was there ever any one who, in her books and in her life, began, continued, and ended more narrowly a woman than she? A shyness that is almost morbid, a shrinking from notice that is almost ridiculous, a timidity in speech and action that is almost contemptible—such is her character as it is laid bare in her Journal; and, beautiful as people with a certain feminine ideal may hold it, what could seem more certain to be ineffectual?

And yet it was this woman, the frightened schoolgirl of society, the unresisting victim of Madame Schwellenberg, who wrote '*Evelina*', '*Cecilia*', and this incomparable *Journal*. Did anything so exquisitely, exclusively, ridiculously feminine, ever rise so high?

Of course she paid a price for her obstinate *parti pris* of maidenly and old-maidenly modesty. Art is the expression of a personality; and its ends are not likely to be perfectly attained by those who deliberately place their personalities in perpetual tutelage to convention. Miss Burney, from first to last, allowed anybody and anything to clip the wings of her genius. At one time it was the thought of what her stepmother would say of her, at another the horror of the public saying anything at all; now it was the feelings of her father, now the susceptibilities of the Queen. The artist in her was never allowed to claim any right to independent existence. All that side of her, her genius in fact, held its life by the most precarious of tenures, to be snapped at any mement by the opinions or wishes of those about her. At the bidding of some scruple of her young conscience, the girl of fourteen made a bonfire of everything she had till then written; and how much that never was written may have been destroyed in the invisible bonfire that burned somewhere in the air round Windsor Castle, as, with a heavy heart and a light conscience, in reluctant obedience to another scruple, the woman of thirty-four entered her palace prison and had the key turned on her spirit for five years? For five years, did we say? rather for life. Artists do not live easily in cages, and when they come out they are apt to have forgotten their songs. When Fanny Burney came out of her cage it was not the author of '*Evelina*' that came out, still less the author of all that might have followed '*Evelina*'; it was only the author of '*Camilla*'.

Well, perhaps we like her better so. The martyr of conscience, the devotedly obedient daughter, the most sincerely humble-minded of all the people who have written successful books—perhaps that is a greater and more beautiful achievement, certainly a more inevitably lovable one, than any brilliant novel, heralded and followed by however many trumpets of fame. Yet the fact remains, and it is one that cannot be forgotten.

Half the great artists of the world have had to go through a battle before they could be what it was in them to be. The freedom of the city of art is generally got by fighting for it, rarely by the smooth way of gold caskets and universal applause. Froude said that the parents of Lucian stood alone among recorded parents in desiring to bring their son up to be an artist. However that may be, it is certain that the recorded parents who were not desirous of seeing their sons become artists are numerous. Almost all the biographies of poets and painters begin with the indignant and obstructive parent. There would have been no 'Adonais' if Shelley had thought as highly of the parental claims of Mr Timothy Shelley as Fanny Burney thought of those of Dr and Mrs Burney. There would have been no 'Kidnapped' if Stevenson had not felt that he had to be himself and not merely his father's son. The most original and revealing landscapes of the nineteenth century would never have been painted if Corot had not been ready after a while to insist that his life was his own.

His own, indeed! A man of genius might say there was an irony in such a word. No one's life is so little his own as an artist's. He is only himself when he is giving himself to the world. And that very often means denying himself to his family; and there lies the problem which finds many solutions, all open to criticism in one point or another, extending over all the distance between the heartless selfishness of Romney and the selfless modesty of Miss Burney. At any rate, nothing is gained by refusing to see that there is a problem. And there never was a case in which the reality of it is plainer than it is in that of Miss Burney. Probably she never became half of what she had it in her to be. Why not? It is odd to find the reason given in some words of her own, written when she was spiriting herself up to the only bold action of her life. She talks in the dedication prefixed to '*Evelina*' of 'that littleness of soul by which the too timid mind is betrayed into a servility derogatory to the dignity of human nature.' In that accidental phrase, itself occurring in a passage meant to justify the timidity of authors, is an unconscious prophecy of much that was to follow in the history of Fanny Burney. She was fourteen when she burnt '*The History of Caroline*

'Evelyn'; she was twenty-five when she published '*Evelina*' and wrote those words (i, 15). But she did not learn their lesson; and it was when she was past forty that Madame de Staël wrote of her to her sister: 'Il me paroit que votre sœur est comme une demoiselle de quatorze ans' (v, 191). The whole of Fanny Burney is in that hasty phrase. The keynote of her personality, from first to last, is its littleness. She is clever, observant, humorous, even shrewd; she is a most loving and most lovable daughter, sister, friend; but she is and remains '*une demoiselle de quatorze ans*'; a genius, if you will, in her way, but—fourteen years old.

It is fair to add that this whole view of her character has been disputed. So strangely may books be misread and facts ignored, that there have positively been people who have accused Miss Burney of being vain. Mr Dobson has thought it necessary to refer to this accusation in his postscript, and to quote once more Macaulay's very sufficient reply. But the question is not really disputable except by those who have allowed themselves to get confused as to what vanity is. The true answer to the charge that Fanny Burney was vain, is simply that vanity does not consist in enjoying praise but in expecting and demanding it. There is a good deal of the first in her, but not an ounce of the second; and, for our part, without the first we should have liked her not more but less. It would have been positively inhuman in her not to enjoy such praise as she received, and not very human to deny her nearest and dearest the pleasure of enjoying it too. But every entry in the Journal shows that, far from expecting praise, she positively ran away from it and never could believe it to be meant. Not only did she never for one instant indulge in '*the priceless luxury of intellectual contempt*', she could never even be brought to take herself seriously or to rank herself as the equal of any but nonentities.

The fact is that the charge is as absurd as any in the whole history of literature. Every page in the Diary refutes it. Every record in it of what the diarist did, or said, or felt, is proof of her extreme and curious modesty. It is there at the very beginning; it lasts to the very end. Her father found her so timid as a girl that he had no suspicion of her powers. Her modesty provoked

Mrs Thrale, who declared it was 'really beyond bounds'; to which 'my dear, dear Dr Johnson' replied, 'That, madam, is another wonder, for modesty with her is neither pretence nor decorum; it is an ingredient of her nature.' Perhaps her shyness about '*Evelina*' was more natural than it would be now, for it was almost the first appearance of a woman as the writer of a novel. Other women had written serious and respectable books, like Mrs Carter's translation of '*Epictetus*' and Mrs Montagu's '*Essay on Shakespeare*', and enjoyed the fame of them; but the women novelists had been poor creatures, not too creditable to their sex. And a novel is, after all, the open road of literature; you meet everybody on it, and some characters with whom young persons as a rule hold no acquaintance. And so to come out as a novel-writer, and be talked of as a novel-writer, was a bolder business then than we quite understand to-day. Anyhow, whatever the explanation, there is the fact; the mention of her book in her presence was an agony, compelling instant flight; the thought of her name being mentioned in the press was enough to conjure up a week of nightmares. In vain did the good sense of Mrs Thrale laugh at her:—

"Why should you write a book, print a book, and have everybody read and like your book, and then sneak in a corner and disown it? . . . This must be conquered; indeed, this delicacy must be got over." "Don't call it delicacy," cried I, "when I know you only think it folly." "Why, indeed," said she, laughing, "it is not very wise!" (i, 97).

No, not very wise, we follow Mrs Thrale in saying, but still very pleasing; and not the less so for the blushes which we know were always in her cheeks on such occasions, as they were in those of her beloved Madame de Sévigné, and of her other self, her own '*Evelina*'.

And there is one pretty thing to note about it all. She is, as we said, exquisitely feminine in her modesty; but she is even more so in its limitations. For observe that she can get over it. But the only things that can make her do so are her husband and her son. Submissive to her father as she was in other matters (even after her marriage she dutifully suppressed her comedy, '*Love and Fashion*', to please him, though she was

offered 400*l.* for it, and it was already in rehearsal at Covent Garden), she would not listen to his rejection of M. d'Arblay, and was married with not much more than a half consent on his part. So, too, when 'Camilla' is to come out, she rejects his warnings against publishing by subscription, and declares that when she 'changed her state' she determined to 'set aside all her innate and original abhorrences, and to regard and use as resources herself what had always been considered as such by others' (v, 263). That is, she will now use her friends and all their influence, and will accept Mrs Crewe's offer to canvass for her, though, in old days, her 'shyness and peculiarly strung nerves' had made that prospect 'terrific and not alluring' to her. For very important things have happened since then; and 'now, when I look at my dear baby, and see its dimpling smiles and feel its elastic springs, I think how small is the sacrifice of such feelings for such a blessing.' Was there ever a woman who lacked courage where her baby was in question? And so even Madame d'Arblay, with the thought of the little Alexander's future upon her, will gulp down all her innate timidities and acquired scruples of court decorum, and will boldly ask the Queen to accept the dedication of 'Camilla,' not, we may be sure, without a comfortable anticipation of the profits that will accrue to the young gentleman from that honour. But these are almost the only escapes of spirit recorded by the Diary. As a rule, notice terrifies her, compliments overwhelm her, unkindness crushes her. Wherever we travel over the map of Fanny Burney we come back to this—she is a child, a 'demoiselle de quatorze ans,' the very genius of littleness.

Well, a jewel is sometimes worth more than an estate; and littleness is not necessarily a disadvantage. Only it is a fact; and its importance in the case of Fanny Burney lies in this. The privilege or duty of intellect is expansion. But this voluntary littleness of hers forbade expansion and threw her back upon herself. All the ways to expansion, the way of learning, the way of thought, the way of commerce with the world, were ways she had doubts about the propriety of taking; and so she remained where she was. All her cleverness cannot alter the fact that she was always a 'young person.' Her brains could only make her all that it was possible

to be under 'young-personish' limitations. But it is the very essence of the 'young person' not to be natural except when she is among her very nearest and dearest. And that was the case with Miss Burney throughout. She evidently did not shine much in general society; it was only slowly, in the encouraging privacy of the *tête-à-tête*, that she timidly drew up her veil of shyness, unobserved by the crowded room round her. And it is much the same with what she wrote. Except 'Cecilia,' nothing that she wrote for the public is of any importance. And when she wrote 'Cecilia' she was hardly sure the public would read it, not, at least, with the fatal certainty that preceded the later novels and plays. On the other hand, 'Evelina' was written without any fixed purpose that the public should ever see it, and with a very decidedly fixed purpose that in no case should the public know it was hers. The Diary, her greatest achievement, was meant for one or two pairs of affectionate eyes alone; and that is why it was her greatest achievement. Observe, for instance, the great inferiority to it of the bulk of her letters, which incline to be dull and pompous. To all but those very near ones she must write according to the protocols of convention. But in the Diary she escapes at last. There, if nowhere else, she can say what it pleases her to say, not only that part of it which might be proper for a young woman to address to the world or to her casual acquaintances. In the Diary she is at last simply and naturally herself.

This is the book on which her ultimate fame must no doubt chiefly rest. And it is a happy thing for our generation to have it edited for us by the best of all imaginable editors, Mr Austin Dobson. Perhaps no one living knows the English eighteenth century as he does. All its figures, and not only the most famous of them, are his familiar friends. And so many of them walk in and out of Miss Burney's pages that it is delightful to have such an editor at hand to do the business of introducing them. Any one can search the dictionaries for information, but Mr Dobson seems to know all the things for which there is no searching because they are not in the dictionaries. There is no old singer or old song casually mentioned in these pages but he can tell us all about them. Apparently he could walk blindfold

about the Brighthelmstone that was only just beginning to be Brighton. He knows all that world and all that was in it, its politics and personalities, its books and its plays, its dresses and diversions, its preachers and the vanities they preached against, its doctors and the medicines they prescribed.

Who but Mr Dobson remembers much, or indeed anything, about 'James's Powders'? Some of us may have a vague notion of having come across them in Cowper's letters; others may dimly recall them elsewhere. But Mr Dobson can at once lay his hand on them everywhere. He knows that they killed Goldsmith, and cured Fielding, Gray, and Cowper; he knows that they were puffed in 'Goody Two-shoes'; and that Walpole not only prescribed them for Madame du Deffand, but declared he would take them if the house was on fire. Can there be anything else to know about them? They and their fame are obscure, forgotten things. Who that goes to Lichfield to-day looks indignantly, as Dr Burney did in 1797, for a monument to the 'inventor of the admirable fever powders which have so often saved the life of our dear Susey'? (v, 339.) We have all now, all except Mr Dobson, gone the way of 'the ungrateful inhabitants' who knew nothing about him. After all, native cities only anticipate the rest of the world in doing dishonour to prophets; and so the great James secures mention here only as an extreme instance of Mr Dobson's omniscience.

However, even that omniscience has its limits, just to make it more human and make us like it better. For instance, Mr Dobson does not tell us, either because he does not know, or perhaps because he thinks every one ought to know, who wrote those charming lines that the Irish 'Mr B——y,' who had wasted his youth in Latin and such 'vain studies,' quoted to Mrs Thrale and Miss Burney :—

‘ My Phœbe and I
O'er hills and o'er dales and o'er valleys will fly,
And love shall be by ! ’

And he can write a note on the 'Brussels Gazette' without alluding to one of Lamb's most perfect little stories, in which that forgotten old compiler of falsehoods plays a leading part. And he forgets the poet's sonnet when

he writes of the silver voice of that other Cowper who, as clerk of the House of Lords, read the charges against Warren Hastings. But two small opportunities lost are not much to set against a thousand taken. Even an editorial Homer may be allowed one nod.

The result is that we have here the final edition of Madame d'Arblay's *Journal*. It is a book that must in future be found in the library of any one who pretends to have a collection of the English classics. For the *Journal* is a classic. The two great novels, '*Evelina*' and '*Cecilia*', are wonderful performances in their way, and still very difficult to put down when once the story is fairly started. The first quarter of '*Evelina*' is indeed rather dull; but as soon as the love affair with Lord Orville comes to the surface, the simplicity and naturalness of it all, the clever contrivance of the alternate clouds and sunshine, and the feeling that we are in the inmost secrets of Evelina's heart, sweep us along with them in delight, and soon make us forget the tedious and barbarous business of Captain Mirvan and Madame Duval. Still, we have seen exactly the same thing done better in '*Pride and Prejudice*' and '*Persuasion*'. Elizabeth Bennett and Anne Elliot have lost a good deal of Evelina's beauty, and added a good deal to her sense and shrewdness; but they are, in essence, the same ultra-modest, intelligent, and good-hearted girls set to shine among fops, fools, and worldlings; and their love-affairs are conducted in exactly the same way, go through the same sort of vicissitudes and misunderstandings, and are brought safe into ultimate port by the same victorious unity of character and mind in the lovers. And the Clifton scenes of '*Evelina*' almost exactly anticipate the Bath scenes of '*Persuasion*'.

In a sense, then, *Evelina* has been superseded. But while the novels have lost importance in the last fifty years, the *Diary* may even have gained. It was always alive and it now begins to be curious. We now see, more and more clearly, that its sprightliness was not the sort of false flash that seems brilliant for a season or a generation, but has the eternal freshness of life and truth. Except Pepys', it is probably the most interesting diary extant in English. Pepys wrote only for his own eye, and confessed himself with a prodigality that enables

us to know him as we know no one else. That is his supreme merit. For the rest, he affords us an interesting picture of the life of his time, and occasionally brings us into close quarters with some of the chief actors in it. But in this last point Miss Burney goes far ahead of him. Her Diary cannot rival his as a confessional; but as a picture of the great things and people of her time, it utterly outstrips him. Charles II was a more interesting man than George III, no doubt; and Pepys gives us a few capital glimpses of him. But they are only 'snapshots,' such as any looker-on from outside may take. Fanny Burney lived at Court and saw the King and Queen almost every day for years. And the King and Queen of England, even when they are as ordinary a couple as George III and Queen Charlotte, are still the King and Queen, with all the interest that will always belong to palaces and thrones. There is one long episode, too, in which the interest goes a great deal deeper, deep as human sorrow, and dark with the midnight darkness of insanity. With such a tragedy being acted before her eyes, it would have taken a duller pen than Miss Burney's to write what would not interest us. Then, if she saw less of the world than Pepys, she saw far more of the people most worth knowing in it. Among the people the Diary records her as meeting—some of them, of course, a hundred times—are Johnson, Burke, Reynolds, Boswell, Windham, Hastings, Horace Walpole, Arthur Young, Bishop Hurd (the 'Beauty of Holiness'), Percy of the 'Reliques,' Mrs Delany, Mrs Siddons, Louis XVIII and the Duchesse d'Angoulême, Madame de Staël, Talleyrand, and Chateaubriand. No such list could be made from Pepys.

The book, then, has all sorts of extraneous interest of the most legitimate sort. A wise woman, who loved both society and books, once defined the pleasantest society as that which is 'bookish without being "blue," and in the world without being of it.' That is, in the main, the society Madame d'Arblay lived in. Her statesmen and courtiers are something of scholars; her scholars are a good deal men of the world. Still, none of the great diaries live by extraneous interest, even of such quality as this. To write a diary is to paint one's own portrait; and whatever else goes into it is only a part of the

necessary properties or ornamental accessories of the picture. That is where Pepys is unapproachable and supreme. But, though Miss Burney's portrait of herself cannot be compared for an instant with that amazing performance, where we seem to see the eyes sparkle with gratified vanity, the brow darken with vanity disappointed, the pulse beat quicker as intrigue develops, dinner approaches, or danger threatens, the conscience, our own conscience that we know so well, objecting and being overruled, or rejoicing with fatuous self-assurance in its occasional victories—though all that is quite out of Miss Burney's reach, yet it is still true that the picture of herself is the central interest of her book, and the key or connecting-link of the whole. We know the shy, clever, kindly, essentially feminine little figure very intimately long before we get to the end. We feel the artist is an honest painter, and we are sure she was well within her rights when she asserted of herself, 'I never in all my life have been a sayer of the thing that is not. All that I relate in journalising is strictly, nay plainly, fact' (i, 312). Yes, nothing but fact, no doubt, but not all the facts. It needs a Pepysian mystery of ciphers to carry a diarist as far as that. As it is, a little more confession would certainly make Madame d'Arblay's Diary more interesting, and perhaps she would be a more human figure if she were but a little wickeder. It is rather exasperating to find that not even Mrs Schwellenberg can provoke her to an angry word. Insipid amiability was the side on which danger lay; and perhaps we must be thankful that she does not pretend to find 'Cerbera' agreeable or George III brilliant.

Well, but the portrait, so far as it goes—what are its most striking features? The modesty, of course, first and foremost, of which enough has been said. But there are other kindred touches of femininity very visible too. Prudery, for instance, and prejudice. 'You know you are a prude,' says 'Daddy' Crisp to her (i, 150) when discussing the suggestion that she should write a comedy, in which there would have to be, as he says, certain 'lively freedoms and waggeries,' natural enough 'when gay men of the world are got together'; but the sort of thing of which respectable ladies would be very shy to claim the authorship, however willing they may be to laugh at it

from the boxes. And, before she knew Queen Charlotte, she 'could have kissed the hem of her garment' for telling Mrs Delany that she hoped Miss Burney would not write a play, because 'her character, by all I hear, is too delicate to suit with writing for the stage' (ii, 309). Well, again perhaps there was a great deal to be said for her. We are all men and women before we are authors; and the woman who is so eager about her authorship as to forget her womanliness is not the sort of author any one would wish Miss Burney to have been. But her prudery was unnecessarily alarmed. The difficulty in the case is one of art and not of morals. The business of art lies just in these things: how to make the tragic hero seem true to nature while he always talks blank-verse; how to make a sea-cook, as Stevenson said, seem a lifelike sea-cook without defiling your pages with oaths or obscenity. The thing can be done, is done in one way or other by every artist worth the name, and, what is still more to the point, had already been done by Miss Burney, who, as a certain Miss Coussmaker observed, had managed in '*Evelina*' to give the impression of life to the conversation of some very objectionable people, while certainly not allowing them to talk in their own language.

The fact is that, here as elsewhere, the mind in Miss Burney never left the schoolroom and never chose to run alone. How easily she caught the prejudices of those about her! Not all her intimate knowledge of Burke can prevent her being childishly, girlishly, unjust to him when he is prosecuting Hastings, the favourite of the Court. Windham was at last obliged to tell her frankly that there were things in the world of which she was no judge, and indeed could form no idea. Yet she could be shrewd enough in her comments on men and things. What an excellent hint to great ladies is her praise of the manners of the old Duchess of Portland, 'not merely free from pride, but free from affability, its most mortifying deputy!' Then, again, how well she notes her reason why Johnson was so rarely included in the invitations she and the Thrales received at Brighton. It never occurred to him apparently that other people were not as easy and serene as he was after his beloved conversational battles. He does not see that people 'who have been "downed" by him never can much covet so

triumphant a visitor.' But the truth is that, 'in contests of wit, the victor is as ill off in future consequences as the vanquished in present ridicule' (ii, 113). Could it be better put? The book has plenty of such shrewd judgments scattered about it, touching off men and manners in phrases that go to the root of things; such phrases as that about Mr Lort the antiquary, 'one of the most learned men alive,' but so odd and blunt that he strikes the silent little critic as 'altogether out of the common road, without having chosen a better path.' There, in a word or two, is the whole difference between eccentricity and individuality.

But all these things are details. After her modesty, the two great impressions the Diary leaves on us are her loving and lovable disposition and her amazing memory. Of course diaries always talk about the people who love and are loved by the diarist more than about the rest of the world. But, when all allowances have been made, it is clear that few people win affection everywhere as Fanny Burney won it. Everybody loved her. First her father, with more than the common love of fathers, then her sisters and friends, then the world, as she began to know it at Streatham where she evidently carried all hearts by storm, and then the Court and all its little separate world, from the King and Queen, who treated her with marked affection from the first, and the princesses, who adored her and loved to be with her, down through the equerries and ladies, who all sought her company, to the very maids and footmen, who were in tears at her resignation. And no wonder. Seldom, indeed, has so kind-hearted, gentle, considerate a being lived in a Court or anywhere else. Human experience does not ordinarily lead us to expect that the cleverest person in a company will be also the most modest and the most amiable. But that was exactly the case at Windsor Castle between 1786 and 1791.

Her unselfishness was, indeed, of the sort that never fails of its reward. No one ever thought less of her own rights or convenience. At Windsor she had no bell in her room to ring for her servants, and she was liable herself to a sudden summons at any moment. Her predecessor, to meet this inconvenience, had made the footman allotted to her stand for hours outside her room,

that she might send him for her maid the instant she needed her. Miss Burney, who had her own heart to tell her the misery of such aimless waiting, would not demand this service of the man, and was put to frequent confusion and discomfort in consequence. So when there was a royal ball, and she had to be ready to undress the Queen, she sat up all night herself, 'not having the heart to make' her maid stay up to tell her when she would be wanted. No doubt all this has its foolish side. The maid would not have been much the worse, and she was there for the purpose of saving Miss Burney these fatigues, which ultimately made her too ill to remain at Court. But look at it from the maid's point of view, and one is not surprised to hear that when the parting from her came, it was a 'tragedy of tragedies,' as 'the poor girl did nothing but cry incessantly'; and one has no difficulty in guessing the sort of action that had won the heart of the footman who, when he was being taken away to St George's Hospital, 'expressed himself in terms of such strong attachment that he quite melted me with sorrow and compassion,' refusing his wages and declaring that 'neither father nor mother, nor any relation that I have, has ever been so kind to me as you have been.'

It is the same all through. She is always thinking of other people. We can most of us do an unselfish thing now and then, if we are to have the credit of it; but it is only the saints of everyday life who can make a great sacrifice for the sake of others and take care to prevent their discovering it is a sacrifice. So we do not stint our admiration or our love when we find the Diary quite naturally recording, as if it were nothing at all, that on the fatal day of her entry on her court duties, when she was 'forgoing all her most favourite schemes, and every dear expectation her fancy had ever indulged of happiness adapted to its taste,' she took care to leave her father undisturbed in the belief that all her emotion arose from nothing more serious than nervousness at the prospect of an audience with the Queen. And so at her father's first visit to her the next day:—

'At noon came my dear father, and spent an hour or two with me—so happy! so contented! so big with every pleasant expectation! I rejoice to recollect that I did nothing, said nothing, this morning to check his satisfaction; it was now,

suddenly and at once, all my care to increase his delight. . . . We parted cheerfully on both sides; yet I saw a little pang in his last embrace, and felt it in his dear hands; but I kept myself well up, and he left me, I really believe, without a wish ungratified' (ii, 388).

And without a notion, we may add, of the price paid for his gratified wishes. The generous giver never let him suspect there was a price in the matter at all. It is only the really unselfish people who do these obscure works of love which no shining glories of admiration follow; and we feel that Fanny Burney was so full of this best Christianity of everyday life that we may take her quite literally when she says things that we should hold to be mere phrases in almost any other mouth. For instance, it was her own fault perhaps, the fault of her weakness and timidity, that old Mrs Schwellenberg was able to be a kind of torturing jailer of that prison of the back-stairs in which they lived. But, wherever the fault lay, there was the fact. And the worst revenge Miss Burney took was to call her '*Cerbera*' in her Journal. When she saw her in pain she was not only 'really very sorry for her'; her charity goes farther; and, as we were saying, on her lips the words are more than an empty flourish:—

'I thought as I looked at her that, if the ill-humours I so often experience could relieve her, I would consent to bear them unrepining in preference to seeing or knowing her so ill.'

Plainly, Fanny Burney was an angel to live with, as her French friends, who called her '*l'ange*', evidently discovered; and an angel endowed with brains is perhaps the one perfect companion we are all seeking in a world in which perfect companionship is rare. From that point of view it is curious that she was not apparently troubled with any suitors for her hand till the rather late arrival of that most fortunate of penniless exiles, Monsieur d'Arblay. The explanation lies probably in the indefinable old-maidishness which seems to have encroached too early—indeed before we know her—on the maidenly modesty which might have been her charm. There are some pleasant weeks in the Diary during which all the indications seem to be pointing to romantic developments between the diarist and '*Mr Fairly*'. She must certainly

have been a little in love with him, and he, one would say from her account of his doings, at least as much in love with her. And one fancies they would have done extremely well together. But rumour always allotted the gentleman to one 'Miss Fuzilier' (Miss Gunning); and, though he treated the story with a contemptuous disavowal in the presence of Miss Burney, it was the rumour, and not the disavowal, which had the last word, much to the surprise, and evidently not much to the satisfaction, of the diarist, who had spent so many pleasant hours in his company. No one will read the *Journal* without thinking Colonel Digby ('Mr Fairly') lost an opportunity. It is not merely that Fanny Burney was by far the most marriageable of all the women who have ever written books, with the doubtful exception of Madame de Sévigné; she assuredly need not fear many rivals in the more popular ranks of those who have not.

However, fate and 'Miss Fuzilier' set things moving in another direction; and Miss Burney survived to become Madame d'Arblay. Colonel Digby makes few appearances in the rest of the *Diary*; and, though there is no actual self-betrayal in the diarist's allusions to him, they mostly strike a more or less critical note. In particular, Miss Burney was scandalised by the manner of his marriage. He had always seemed to her 'so religious, so strict in all ceremonies, even, of religion,' that she was naturally amazed to find he was married in a drawing-room, with ladies seated on sofas round the room, and their 'work-boxes and netting cases' about them, and nothing to suggest a religious service except two candles and a prayer-book on a table for which the best that the officiating clergyman can say is that he hopes it was not a card-table! On all of which the diarist comments that it is an amazing way of conducting 'a business of such portentous seriousness,' and notes with evident satisfaction that the clergyman 'attributed the plan to the lady,' who was 'all smile and complacency' and 'perfectly serene.' We are not surprised to find that a 'violent headache' is one of the very next entries in the *Diary*.

But it would be absurd to treat the book as if its writer were the only thing of interest in it. She is the backbone which holds it all together, but it has many other features, some of which are of more striking interest

than she is. This is where her marvellous memory comes in. Who, except Boswell, has ever recorded long conversations with such wealth of detail and convincing fidelity as she does? Even in Boswell, only the Wilkes dinner and a few similar episodes can pretend to rival the copious and picturesque abundance of such scenes as her first meeting with George III at Mrs Delany's, the great interview with him at Kew during his first attack of madness, or half a dozen of the days at Streatham in the first two volumes. There is no more immortal page in Boswell than that in which Johnson describes his household, and in particular, Poll Carmichael, the 'stupid slut,' of whom he had some hopes at first; but 'when I talked to her tightly and closely I could make nothing of her; she was wiggle-waggle, and I could never persuade her to be categorical.' No more vivid pictures of human beings talking to each other exist in the English language. Besides, Boswell had one great advantage over Miss Burney. It was impossible for a young woman staying at Streatham, it was much more impossible for the 'Dresser to Her Majesty Queen Charlotte,' to imitate the wise impudence which gave Boswell courage to take notes on the spot while a conversation was proceeding. She had to rely on her memory alone. There is very little doubt we can rely on it too. No doubt it is the business of the novelist to invent probable conversations; and Miss Burney could do it as well as most people. But no one who reads these will think them invented. Obviously, from all the circumstances of the Diary, she was only relating what she saw and heard; she had too much use, as she said, for her inventive powers in other quarters to waste them on her Diary.

The strangest thing about it, and the strongest proof of what her memory was, is that she never, we believe, complains of difficulty in recollecting what was said; what she complains of again and again is lack of time to pour out upon the paper her multitudinous recollections. Of course she must have 'composed' the conversations a little. Her truth is truth of art, not of science, and is as much the more interesting for that as a landscape is more interesting than a plan out of a surveyor's office; it contains, as that does, a better sort of truth than any literal reporting can ever accomplish. But truth of art,

however it may transform or reject fact, is still built firm on fact, and can have no other foundation; and there is no reason to doubt that this is the case with Madame d'Arblay. Her conversations are real conversations. Long before most of them were written, her father had noted the gift that made them possible: 'You carry bird-lime in your brains: everything that lights there sticks.' And the result is this amazing book of living, breathing human beings, caught, all unknown to them, in the midst of their talk, and talking for evermore in these pages with the quick freshness of the moment, so different from the faded colours which are all that history can give to the conversations to which it looks back across the centuries.

These conversations are the best thing in the book, and the best known. But it is full also of curious things that are not conversations. One of the most curious is the fact that, when Madame d'Arblay came back to England in 1812, she had never heard of Trafalgar, and did not know Nelson was dead; or rather, that is not in the book, but in one of Mr Dobson's notes, resting ultimately on her brother's authority. It is perhaps the most convincing proof ever given of the tightness of the grasp in which Napoleon held the French people, mind and body; and it makes all the more wonderful the entire indifference and contempt with which, as the Diary shows, Paris at first treated the news of the landing from Elba. These are grave matters, fit for the historian's eye; but they are not perhaps more startling than some other odd facts which are casually mentioned in the Diary, such as that the baby Lord Hartington, aged fourteen months, had a house and a carriage to himself at Bath, quite separate from his sisters who were not to succeed to dukedoms; or, another nursery detail, that a certain Lady Warren fed her boy of ten weeks old on hare and veal; or, what will astonish visitors to Germany more than all the rest, that old Mrs Schwellenberg, Miss Burney's German jailer, had a positive mania for open windows, and nearly killed poor Fanny and other unhappy court personages who had to travel in her coach, by insisting on both windows being open in all weathers. To travel farther in the incredible would be impossible; and even the picture of George IV bandying Homeric quotations in the original Greek with Charles Burney,

or that of George III followed into the sea at Weymouth by a machine full of loyal fiddlers saluting the royal bather with 'God Save the King,' or that of Mrs Thrale and Fanny Burney bathing by moonlight at six o'clock in the morning on November 20, 1782, pale before the spectacle of an elderly German duenna for ever clamouring for fresh air.

Such things, however, are only the waifs and strays of eccentricity scattered up and down the book. For the rest, there is a good deal of interest in the incidental pictures she gives of her time. That easy, cheerful, intelligent, unimaginative century is once more set out before us, and makes the old, attractive, unsatisfying picture. There it is, with its world in which every one had a place or a pension, and there were no maladies of the soul—if, indeed, there was a soul to have them; with its outside splendour of pomp and palaces, and its hidden discomfort of dirty and ill-arranged rooms; with its wise tolerance, its real respect for the things of the mind, and its sound contempt for barbarians; with its abundant and admirable wisdom of this world, and its easy ignorance of the need of any other—there it is, as we have seen it before, the age in which we know England best of all, neither too far off nor too near. Its admirable good sense and good temper were never seen to better advantage than in Miss Burney's Mr Cambridge rejoicing in his 'very peculiar happiness' that all the 'amiable women' whom he took to also took to him, and that the 'impertinent and foolish' ones whom he disliked 'cannot bear' him in return; declaring that of these two things he does not know 'which is the greatest happiness'; and winding up 'a thousand excellent anecdotes of himself and his associates' by the cheerful confession that 'to and at this moment there is no sight so pleasing to me as seeing Mrs Cambridge enter a room; and that, too, after having been married to her for forty years.' He is a pleasant picture in Boswell, this Mr Cambridge; but this more than Gibbonian self-satisfaction (for poor Gibbon never tasted the pleasure of seeing his wife enter a room) surpasses all that Boswell tells us.

Mr Cambridge is also a good specimen of the cultivated men of leisure who flourish so exceedingly and form so agreeable a feature in all pictures of the eighteenth cen-

tury; what a number of them there seem to have been, like him, 'always well-bred and almost always entertaining,' and, like him, with 'talents and inclination' for 'serious disquisitions and philosophy' as well as for 'anecdotes' and 'fun.' We have to be half-ashamed of ourselves to-day if we care about anything more serious than the 'test match' or 'the winner.' In those days intelligence kept the barbarians in their proper place; and Miss Burney, like Chesterfield and like Gibbon, never speaks of the sportsmen of her day except with a touch of assured and expected contempt. She tells us that Mr Crutchley, who loved hunting, said he never knew three men in the world who pursued it with equal pleasure that were not idiots; and elsewhere she couples 'a schoolboy or a professed fox-hunter' together as savages of equal grossness. We need not wish to go so far as that; but we may well wish to recover a little of the eighteenth century respect for intellect and learning that gave Johnson such a reception as he had everywhere in Scotland, and that in this book shows us a member of the Irish Parliament, a man of fortune and a scholar, breaking out about him: 'Oh, I love him, I honour him, I reverence him! I would black his shoes for him!'—or a young man of fashion like Windham going down to Lichfield in his carriage for no other reason than to save Johnson the discomfort of returning to London in the public coach. A Whig who could do that for a Tory scholar has a right to be believed when he utters the fine regret, 'I lament every moment as lost that I might have spent in his society and yet gave to any other.'

The century that produced men who so honoured wisdom and goodness is not one to be lightly despised. An age of seriousness it can perhaps hardly be called; but it may be as well entitled to that name as others are to be called ages of faith. Neither the serious nor the faithful are a very large proportion of the whole in either case. But the characteristic of the eighteenth century is that, where there is belief in goodness, there is nearly always also belief in intelligence and learning; and the two beliefs, so often divorced before and since, make seriousness. Religion plays no large part in Madame d'Arblay's Diary, for the reason that she deliberately resolved when she began it to say nothing in it of her

'religious sentiments, opinions, hopes, fears, beliefs, or aspirations.' But that was not because she had none. Indeed she kept another devotional diary, which has not been printed, and is apparently destroyed. The result is that it is only the externals of religion that we get in the published Diary; the 'rational and judicious' sermons, delivered 'with a clearness, grace, and propriety that softened and bettered us all,' which she heard at Bath and elsewhere; her reception of the Holy Communion, and happiness in remaining in church after the service was over, and then going back to her room to read 'some of my Queen's gift, "Ogden's Sermons"'; her seeking and finding 'composure' in the study of Beattie's 'Evidence of the Christian Religion.' Any eighteenth century library will show how much they read sermons in those days. How many people nowadays take sermons with them on a holiday, as Boswell did when he and Johnson went to Scotland? How many find them in inn-parlours, as they did? and how many read them if they do?

Madame d'Arblay's picture must not, however, be taken to be of an invariably edifying character. We should now be scandalised, for instance, by such a discussion during service at church as took place in the Thrale pew at Streatham one Sunday in 1781, when Miss Burney enlivened a sermon on humility by declaring that one of the occupants of the pew was the proudest man in the church. But the general impression is one of goodness and good sense, and of a spirit of wise and tolerant charity in these matters, which has disappeared since in a succession of controversial storms. In those days, as Mrs Gaskell tells us in her 'Life of Charlotte Brontë,' a saintly rector could build a chapel for the Wesleyans in his parish. One sees the same spirit in the curious fact that, of all the objections made by Dr Burney to Monsieur d'Arblay as a son-in-law, there is not a word of his being a Roman Catholic. And the exile, who lived and died in that faith, could not only conform to English customs in such matters as Sunday observance, but could allow his son to be brought up a Protestant, and finally to be ordained in the English Church; while his wife, Anglican enough to sigh for the English service abroad, was yet liberal enough to welcome the priest to her husband's dying bed, to which, but for her, it seems

he would hardly have got access. Is it always because we care more about our own faith, that we are so much more exclusive with regard to that of others?

All these glimpses, grave and gay, into what English men and women were thinking and doing a hundred and twenty years ago make very pleasant reading to eyes fatigued with the newspaper reiteration of the obvious actualities of the present. To learn to read books is to learn to enjoy escapes into the unseen; and the power to live with the past is the first step towards being able to live with the imagination. No doubt living in Streatham Place is still a long way from living with the 'Faery Queen,' but it is also a long way from living with the halfpenny papers. Every one who can do it has taken the first step. Nor need any one who has taken this step be alarmed at the size or number of these volumes. There are dull pages in them—for instance, after Johnson dies, and before Miss Burney goes to Windsor—but they do not amount to an appreciable fraction of the whole. The cook who serves up our feast is a mistress of her art; and the company is royal; royal in the eyes of the 'Court Circular,' for we have kings and queens, princes and princesses, of the ancient lines of England and France; royal in act and genius, for we have more than one curious glimpse of Napoleon; royal in speech and character, for we have a thousand glimpses of Samuel Johnson. And, for all the interest of Windsor, and even of Waterloo, that last guest is the one we could least spare from the banquet. The diarist in her old age thought of the Streatham breakfast-room as the place where she had had as many conversations with Johnson as there are days in the year. She remembered nothing better; nor do we. Here, as everywhere, Johnson is king of his company; and if everything else in this book were forgotten, the Johnson chapters must still be read for ever as, after Boswell's immortal pages, the most vivid of all records of human speech, and the picture of the greatest of all human talkers.

J. C. BAILEY.

Art. VI.—ART UNDER THE ROMAN EMPIRE.

1. *Die Wiener Genesis.* By Wilhelm, Ritter von Hartel, and Franz Wickhoff. Vienna: Tempsky, 1895. (Partly translated, under the title 'Roman Art,' by Mrs S. Arthur Strong. London: Heinemann, 1900.)
2. *Le Bas-relief romain à représentations historiques.* By E. Courbaud. Paris: Fontemoing, 1899.
3. *Die spätrömische Kunstdustrie nach den Funden in Oesterreich-Ungarn.* By A. Riegl. Vienna: Hof- und Staatdruckerei, 1901.
4. *Orient oder Rom.* By J. Strzygowski. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1901. (A bibliography of Strzygowski's work is contained in 'Byzantinische Denkmäler,' iii, p. 119 ff.)
5. *The Golden Age of Classic Christian Art.* By Jean Paul Richter and A. Cameron Taylor. London: Duckworth, 1904.

And other works.

TEN years ago the history of art under the Roman Empire was curtly dismissed as a mere epilogue to the splendid story of the art of Greece. It could not indeed be denied that the Romans were great architects, though some critics preferred to call them great builders, nor could their achievements in portrait-sculpture fail to arrest attention; but it was the almost universal belief that the period of Rome's unquestioned political supremacy was one of unchecked artistic decadence. In 1895, however, the reproduction in facsimile of the famous illustrated ms. of Genesis, in the Imperial Library at Vienna, gave to Franz Wickhoff—a critic whose interests had hitherto lain chiefly in the field of medieval and Renaissance art—an opportunity of traversing the received doctrines in a brilliant and suggestive preface. Wickhoff treated the art of the Augustan age as the culmination of that which had been formed under the patronage of the Hellenistic monarchies, and claimed for it some of the monuments which had till then been regarded as masterpieces of the Hellenistic period, notably the finest of the 'pictorial' reliefs collected in the great publication of Theodor Schreiber. But the true manifestation of the Roman genius was to be seen, according to him,

in the 'illusionist' art of the Flavian period (in which he saw an anticipation of the impressionist principle introduced into modern art by Velasquez), and in the 'continuous' style of narrative-sculpture shown in the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius.

It was not to be expected that such startling views would remain unchallenged. But, for some time, the debate was mainly concerned with Wickhoff's account of Augustan art, and his assignment of the reliefs generally called Hellenistic to that period. Meantime, a series of magnificent publications was bringing the monuments of the Roman Empire nearer to students. The trophy of Adamklissi, the two Imperial columns at Rome, the silver treasure of Bosco Reale, and the vessels of the Hildesheim *trouvaile* in the Berlin Museum, were among those reproduced.

The twentieth century, however, was destined to bring new ideas to the birth. In 1901 a Polish scholar, Josef Strzygowski, chiefly known as a student of Byzantine civilisation, flung out a fresh challenge and shifted the centre of interest by the publication of 'Orient oder Rom,' a series of essays on art-products as far apart as Palmyrene frescoes and Egyptian textile fabrics. Strzygowski aimed at destroying 'the Wickhoffian portrait of Roman Imperial art,' denying to Rome the leading place in artistic development, and representing the period of the Empire as that in which the rising tide of Orientalism, finally triumphant under Constantine, gradually submerged the landmarks of classical, i.e. Hellenistic, civilisation. Since 1901 he has poured forth an unceasing and bewildering stream of publications, written in several languages, and sustaining the most diverse theses; but the motto which he never wearies of repeating is, 'Hellas dies in the embrace of the East.'

Alois Riegl* holds a place as important as that of Strzygowski for students of the history and philosophy of art. In his essays on the history of ornament, published in 1893 under the title of 'Stilfragen,' he had expressed the view (naturally quoted with commendation by Wickhoff) that 'there was in the antique art of the

* Since these pages were written, Riegl's early death has left a gap in the ranks of archaeologists which it will be hard to fill.

Roman Empire a development along the ascending line, and not merely a decadence, as is universally believed.' This thesis he expanded and fortified with many pages of closely-woven argument in his great work on 'Late Roman Industrial Art in Austria-Hungary,' of which only one volume has appeared. This book is ostensibly concerned with certain products of the goldsmith's industry of the fourth and later centuries A.D.; but its author contributes some prefatory chapters in which he reviews the history of ancient art in its successive phases. These chapters surpass in the subtlety of their argumentation anything which has been written in recent times on the principles of art. Riegl's style comes perilously near to being grotesque; and his endeavour to show artistic progress in the stunted, wooden figures of the bas-reliefs of Constantine seems at first sight hopeless. But he is right in his main aim, to trace the 'definite artistic intention' which inspires each successive period, and to prove that the transformation which befell ancient art when the classical standard was dethroned was no mere technical decadence, but a search for new paths.

It is clear that, in the debate which Strzygowski and Riegl have raised, Christian art demands as close a study as that of pagan Rome. Until recent times it had been treated almost exclusively by those interested in the subjects of its representation rather than in its artistic forms. But Strzygowski has passed beyond this one-sided treatment; and we must therefore welcome such recent publications as those of Monsignor Wilpert and Dr J. P. Richter, which are doing for Christian art what the works of the last decade of the nineteenth century did for that of Imperial Rome. M. Wilpert, indeed, treats the paintings of the Catacombs mainly from the iconographic point of view; but Dr Richter has made a fearless endeavour to assign the mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore to their place in the general history of art; and his effort, though (as we believe) unsuccessful, is none the less stimulating. At the present time, therefore, the history of art in the first four centuries of the Christian era is taking its place amongst the burning questions of archaeological debate. How far from solution are the problems which it raises may be inferred from the fact that the trophy of Adamklissi, generally believed to date from

the reign of Trajan, is still maintained by Furtwängler, with characteristic vigour and obstinacy, to be a work of the year 29 B.C. Nevertheless, some landmarks appear to emerge definitely from the troubled sea of controversy.

In the last century of the Republic, Rome had already become the centre of the world's civilisation, and had thus entered into the inheritance laid up for her by Alexander and his successors. The Diadochi had created a type of territorial state whose life was nearer to our own than was that of the Greek city or of the feudal monarchy. All the great lines of cleavage which split up modern communities into their infinite diversity of interest now become apparent. The individual and the state, the city and the country, capital and labour, the leisured and the professional class—these and other contrasts are resolved in the harmony or discord of the new societies. But their splendid material civilisation is concentrated in the great cities ; and their art is the art of courts and academies.

To trace the history of the Greek genius in its later transformations would be foreign to our present purpose ; it will be sufficient to say that in the first century B.C. it had spent its creative force, but had achieved a mastery of technique. No longer the spontaneous expression of national life and feeling, but the minister of private luxury, art followed the current set by criticism ; and the return to classical models without the revival of the classical spirit seemed about to issue in the unchallenged reign of academic conventions. Only in one direction were signs of independence to be seen. The accurate observation and faithful reproduction of natural forms, both animal and vegetable, were not neglected by artists with whom study took the place of inspiration ; while, in the field of ornament, a great transformation was in progress. In no branch of art were the characters of the time so clearly traceable as in that of the silversmith, whose creations were specially fitted to enhance the splendour with which private wealth now began to surround itself. The treasures of silver plate, of which the most famous is that whose owners were entrapped by the eruption of Vesuvius in the villa of Bosco Reale, near Pompeii, furnish us with masterpieces admirable in their technical perfection and grace of form ; yet there is no reason to think that chance has here preserved to

us works of exceptional value.* These collections date from the Imperial period ; but it is evident that many of the individual pieces had long been in the possession of their owners ; and that the *repétiteur*, or silver-chasers, had brought their art to perfection in the first century B.C. is shown by the fact that the potters of Arezzo adapted their *répertoire* to the inferior material so early as the time of Sulla, and also by the discovery of a silver goblet, chased with myrtle foliage, in the trenches of Alesia (Alise-Sainte-Reine), besieged by Caesar in B.C. 52.

In the decoration of these products two systems of ornament appear in sharp contrast, the one strictly conventional, the other eminently naturalistic ; while, in the figure-subjects reproduced by the Arctine potters and by the manufacturers of decorative reliefs in terra-cotta, we see a similar distinction between conventional statuary types, often affected and archaic, and freely composed scenes of *genre* or landscape such as the artificial 'return to nature,' which had become a social and literary pose in the Hellenistic capitals, had brought into fashion. This was the art which found its latest manifestation in the Rome of Augustus. Its eclectic taste and its technical virtuosity suffered no change ; it remained 'independent of material,' as Dragendorff aptly says, so that silver, stucco, sardonyx, or marble were handled with impartial and indistinguishable mastery ; but it was enlisted by Augustus in the service of the new order, and was thus infused with a new spirit. This is to be seen, not so much in the perfunctory adaptations of Greek types which did duty for the divinities of the Imperial house—Mars the Avenger and Venus the Mother—as in the reliefs of the Ara Pacis Augustæ, or the silver vases from Bosco Reale reserved by Baron Edmond de Rothschild from his munificent gift to the Louvre.

The Ara Pacis was, as we know, erected between July 4, B.C. 13, the day of Augustus's return to Rome from the West, and January 30, B.C. 9, when the dedication ceremony took place ; and enough of it still remains to show that, in form and substance, it represents the summit of the Augustan artist's achievement. In its

* The nucleus of the Hildesheim treasure may have been formed by the campaigning equipment of a Roman military commander ; but it is far from likely that it would include works of exceptional artistic merit.

decorative bands we see the conventional acanthus system invaded by the ivy clusters so dear to the Roman silversmith (Pl. II, fig. 3); in the plastic picture of the Earth-goddess and her children, throned between the spirits of sea and sky, an adaptation of a great composition, perhaps of Alexandrian origin, symbolising the powers of nature (Pl. I, fig. 1); and in the processional friezes (Ib. fig. 2) one of the earliest of those pictures of stately ceremonial which the artists of the Principate were to repeat in so many keys. In his treatment of these processions the sculptor has not endeavoured to free himself from the conventions of Greek bas-relief; the reverence for the classical prototype—in this case the frieze of the Parthenon—inculcated in the creed of the time, makes itself clearly felt. And it is because the spontaneity of the artist is thus curbed and trammelled that the very finest works of the Augustan age, such as the *Prima Porta* statue of the Emperor, the chasings of whose corslet symbolise what his rule had done for Rome and the world, are chilling in spite of their admirable technique.

Augustan art was, in fact, an exotic growth, forced into a brief but splendid efflorescence at the command of a ruler who neglected neither substance nor shadow, and had as keen a sense of scenic effect as of the realities behind the pageant. His successor was cast in a different mould, and understood neither the value of popularity nor the art of acquiring it; nor was any member of the Julio-Claudian house capable of giving to official Roman art that sustained culture which was necessary to keep it at the Augustan level. Little indeed remains of the monuments of the first dynasty; and what we have—mainly the large cameos with Imperial groups—only serves to show that the springs of life were running dry in the official art of the time. It is indeed commonly maintained that in the well-known reliefs which adorn the portico of the Villa Borghese we have the remains of an arch commemorating Claudius's conquest of Britain; but I have elsewhere* shown that external evidence is conclusive against this identification, and that Winckelmann's eye did not err when he assigned them to the reign of Trajan. It might indeed have been thought

* 'Papers of the British School at Rome,' vol. iii, pp. 215 ff.



PLATE I. FIG. 1.

TELLUS AND THE AURE, FROM THE ARA PACIS AUGUSTÆ.



PLATE I. FIG. 2.

PROCESSIONAL FRIEZE, FROM THE ARA PACIS AUGUSTÆ.

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that Nero, who died with the claim to be a great artist on his lips, would have left a mark on the development of Roman art; but his influence was limited to the fact that his passion for grandiose luxury furnished the builders of the Golden House with an opportunity of surpassing their forerunners in decorative effects. As an artist Nero may perhaps have been worthy, rather than Wagner, of the cruel epigram of Nietzsche, ‘Er gehört als Dichter unter die Musiker, als Musiker unter die Dichter, als Künstler überhaupt unter die Schauspieler.’

With the advent of the Flavian dynasty, but not by reason of the character of its members, the scene changes. But, in order to approach Flavian art with understanding, it is necessary to look back, not indeed to the art of the Augustan court, but to that which flourished both in Rome and in Italy, independent of Imperial patronage. We have hitherto had to deal with an art which, though Roman in its place of origin and in the choice of subjects supplied to it, is nevertheless purely Hellenistic in convention and technique. But, from the days when the Etruscans ruled in Rome and taught the subjects who were to become their masters all they knew of material civilisation, an art had been practised in Italy which had no counterpart in Greece, practised by men who saw what the Greek artist did not see, or saw only to overlook. This art was to that of Greece as prose to poetry; but its achievement in portraiture must in bare justice be pronounced considerable. Roman museums furnish scores of heads and busts which are sometimes, it is true, brutal, but never unfaithful to life. They are the work of artists whose eye never missed a feature of their subject, and whose hand never shrank from rendering what the eye saw.*

In speaking of their work it is best to avoid the use of the word ‘realism,’ which calls up its complement ‘idealism,’ and suggests a contrast, based on these terms, between Roman and Greek treatment. Realism is not, in fact, absent from Greek portraiture in its later phases; but, though its creations are no longer generalised and made conformable to the positive aesthetic standard of

* A fine example is the head in the Museo Chiaramonti (Pl. II, fig. 1), often wrongly believed to represent Julius Cæsar.

Greek art at its zenith, they always bear the traces of an effort which was instinctive in the Greek—the effort to express a meaning not exhausted by the individual case. The Italian artist saw his subject with a single eye for the fact before him, and rendered each detail with a single aim. Thus it comes about that, by reason of the care and fidelity with which accessories are treated, Roman monuments, especially those of private life, give a more direct and truer picture than those of Greece.

Now this art, which was native to Italian soil, had its continued existence and development, independent of the influences which affected the court and the capital. Even Imperial monuments were at times entrusted to the hands of local craftsmen, who were not only unable to rival the technical skill of the Greek artists domiciled in Rome, but sometimes failed to reach the level attained by the best Italian workmen. The most notable example of this is afforded by the Arch of Augustus at Susa (Segusio), recently published in heliotype by Ferrero and described by Studniczka in the '*Jahrbuch*' of the German Institute for 1903; though it is difficult to follow the latter in the flights of theory which carry him through Etruscan back to Mycenaean times.

We must now direct our view to a very different side of Roman life—that which unfolded itself on the Palatine and in the palaces and villas of the senatorial aristocracy and the wealthy order which took its tone from them. We are now to deal, not with the monumental art into which Augustus had striven to infuse the spirit of Imperial Rome, but with that which satisfied the demands of private wealth. In picturing to ourselves the dwellings of the Roman aristocracy, we are not dependent merely on inferences from the more modest establishments of Pompeii and its neighbourhood, since the discoveries (amongst others) of an Imperial residence on the Palatine, often known as the 'House of Livia' or 'House of Germanicus,' of a house by the river-side in the gardens of the Farnesina, and of the remains of the Villa of Livia at Prima Porta, some six miles to the north of Rome, have given us an insight into the methods of decoration which prevailed in the Rome of Augustus.

In the Augustan age, the 'incrustation' with slabs of coloured marble, or its imitation in fresco, was giving



PLATE II. FIG. 1.
JULIUS CÆSAR (so-called)
(Museo Chiaramonti).



PLATE II. FIG. 2.
MARK ANTONY (so-called)
(Braccio Nuovo).



PLATE II. FIG. 3.
ORNAMENT (ARA PACIS AUGUSTÆ).

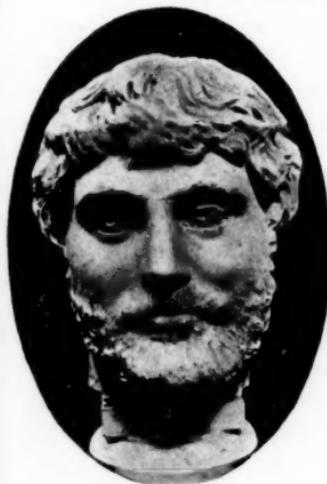
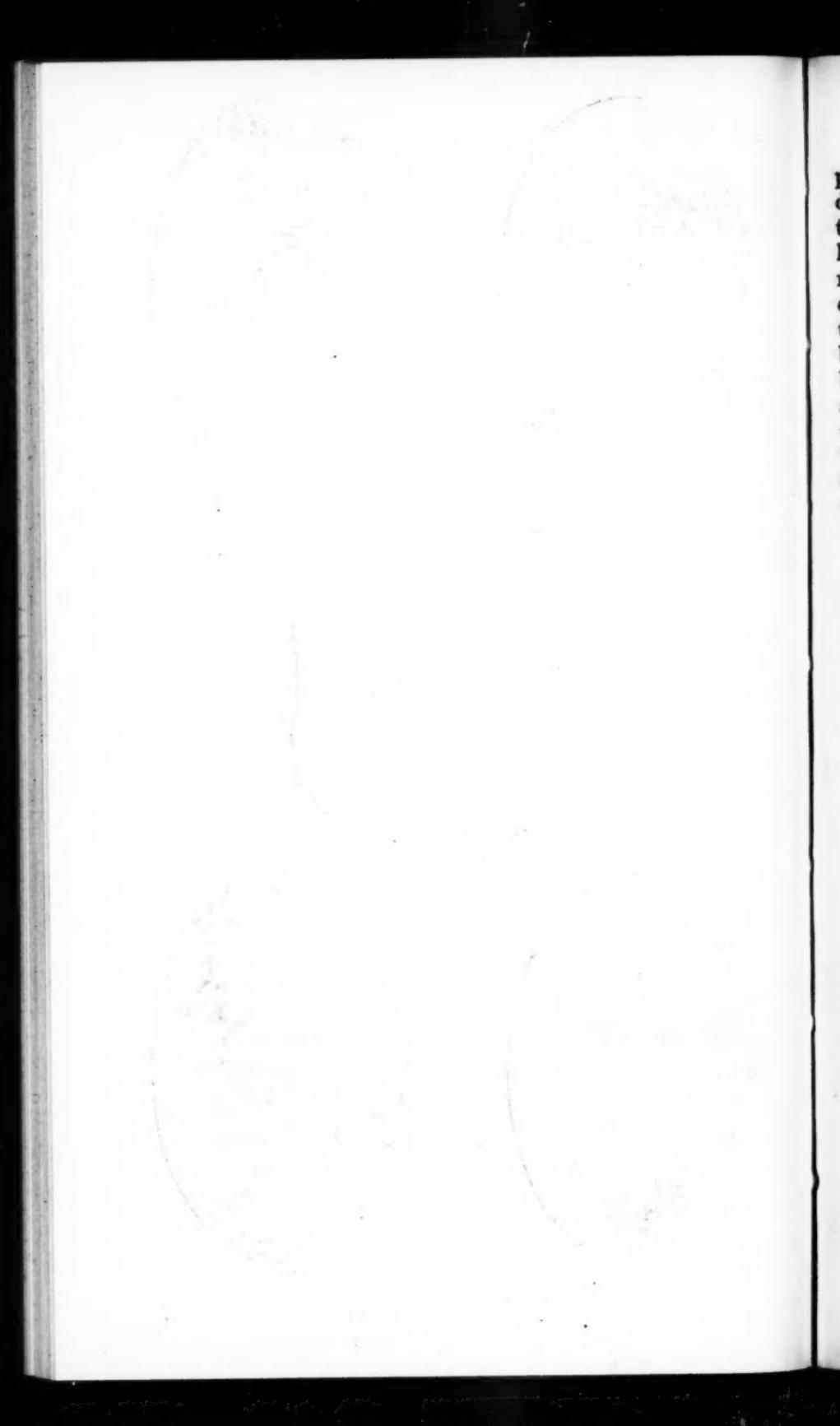


PLATE II. FIG. 4.
PORTRAIT, PERIOD OF GALLIENUS
(Magazzino Archeologico).



PLATE II. FIG. 5.
PORTRAIT, PERIOD OF CONSTANTINE
(formerly Palazzo Giustiniani).



place to a new scheme, the 'architectural' style of wall-decoration. In this style the dominating conception of the decorator is that of an indefinite extension of the horizon by an illusory system of perspectives. It was natural to term the style 'architectural,' since the immediate foreground is, in general, separated from the spectator by a row of columns painted *en trompe-l'œil*. But the background is not necessarily a system of porticoes and buildings; we may find our outlook bounded by a park, as in the Villa of Livia, or by a wild landscape, as in one of the rooms of the Villa most recently brought to light at Bosco Reale. And, though the central subject may be composed as a picture, we should more probably regard it as a scene beheld through an open window than as an actual painting framed and hung under a baldacchino.

Amongst the most interesting of these rooms is that in a house discovered on the Esquiline, from which the *Odyssey* landscapes of the Vatican Library were removed. Here we look out over a low partition broken at intervals by pilasters into a continuous landscape on which the episodes of the return of Odysseus are displayed.* Archaeologists have not failed to notice that Vitruvius, in a chapter which describes the wall-painting of the Augustan period, mentions 'Troianas pugnas seu Ulixis errationes per topia' amongst the subjects chiefly in favour; and it is worthy of note that the tale of Troy was probably told in a similar series of frescoes which once adorned a chamber in the house or palace now buried under the Domus Flavia on the Palatine. In 1724 there came to light, under the so-called 'basilica' of the Flavian palace, a room decorated in the architectural style. A coloured sketch by Gaetano Piccini exists in the Hofbibliothek at Vienna, and has been recently published by Egger. The architectural framework is furnished by scarlet pilasters with Corinthian capitals (as in the case of the *Odyssey* landscapes), a painted architrave, and a plastic cornice of stucco; and the panel drawn by Piccini shows the embarkation of Helen on a landscape background similar to those of the Esquiline paintings.

The remains of wall-decoration found in Rome itself,

* A splendid series of facsimile reproductions of these landscapes by the three-colour process, with a description by Dr Nogara, will appear shortly, and should be in the hands of every student of ancient painting.

at any rate those still in existence, would give us no very adequate notion of the further progress of technique. Fortunately Pompeii supplies the evidence we need, and shows that the second or 'architectural' style of decoration was succeeded by a third, which Professor Mau has called the 'ornate,' and a fourth, which he terms the 'intricate' style. The third style differs from the second most notably in the fact that architectural forms are reduced to a purely conventional function in the scheme of decoration, without any attempt at producing the illusion of reality; in the fourth, on the other hand, though the architecture is flimsy and fantastic, the spectator is once more invited to believe that a real prospect opens out on every side. These facts raise the question, when and in what sense did 'illusionism' make its appearance in Roman art?

Here we touch the main thesis of Wickhoff's essay. He looks upon 'illusionism' as the crowning achievement of Roman artists, and believes that it triumphs in the art of the Flavian period, making its appearance in the wall-paintings of the fourth style and in the monumental sculpture of which the Arch of Titus furnishes the classical example. In the first place, it is necessary to observe that the term 'illusionism,' which, since the appearance of Wickhoff's essay, has been consistently used in the discussion, denotes what in England we are accustomed to call 'impressionism'; and it would be more satisfactory if the latter word could take the place of the former. All art strives to create the illusion of reality under self-imposed conditions; and, if we call that art specially 'illusionistic' which makes mere illusion its aim and attains it by a *tour de force*, then we must admit that its methods will by no means be of necessity 'impressionist.' Wickhoff, however, makes it clear that, in his belief, the Roman artist worked precisely as the modern impressionist does; i.e. he did not compose his picture by a minute study of the several parts of the subject, involving a constant shifting of the point of view, but strove to hit off, by a few touches, the summary picture formed by the eye in a single and momentary act of vision.

Now this is found at Rome at an earlier date than Wickhoff allows. In his view the architecture of the second style is 'sober and pedantic,' the counterpart of

the classicistic sculpture of the Ara Pacis; but a glance at the Odyssey landscapes is sufficient to show that their summary treatment of landscape and figures is essentially 'impressionist'; hence it is not surprising that Wickhoff and his followers have endeavoured, though without success, to question the date assigned, on external evidence, to the house and its paintings. Further, the 'black room' of the house in the grounds of the Farnesina is decorated in its main panels with landscapes effectively sketched with the utmost economy of means; and above these runs a frieze with subjects likewise treated in the 'impressionist' manner. Here there can be no question that we are dealing with work of the Augustan period; and, if confirmation were needed, it would be found in the chapter of Vitruvius from which a quotation was given above, and in a passage of Pliny's 'Natural History,' which attributes to a painter probably named Ludius, 'diui Augusti æstate,' precisely such landscapes. Moreover, there are strong grounds for believing that Alexandria was the home of such methods of painting. Amongst the scenes from the frieze of the 'black room' is one which at first sight recalls the judgment of Solomon, but is doubtless to be interpreted in the light of a similar story told of the Egyptian king Bocchoris; the 'impressionist' technique is seen in its most extreme form at Pompeii in certain paintings representing the cult of Isis; and Petronius, whose taste in art as in literature was classicistic, laments the decay of painting 'postquam Ægyptiorum audacia tam magnæ artis compendiarium invenit.' Such a 'short cut' may be described in the technique of the paintings just described.

It is difficult, therefore, to subscribe to Wickhoff's doctrine that illusionism is the creation of Roman artists; but he has the undoubted merit of having been the first to demonstrate that, under its influence, Roman sculpture reached the height of its destiny in the Flavian period. To this we may agree, although his almost passionate panegyric on the reliefs from the passage-way of the Arch of Titus proves to rest in part on an insecure foundation. Petersen has shown, for example, that the nice calculation by which, according to Wickhoff, the artist avoided the casting of shadows on the background of imagined sky, is an impossibility. Wickhoff's main

contention is that the sculptor has endeavoured to attain the impression of complete illusion, allowing natural illumination to complete the artistic effect produced by the means proper to plastic art, so that 'a frame is simply thrown open, and through it we look at the march past of the triumphal procession.' The relief 'has respiration like the pictures of Velasquez'; its 'marvellous effect' is 'unequalled except in the "Hilanderas."

On this position Riegl has brought to bear the heavy artillery of his argument. He cannot allow that (as he translates Wickhoff into his peculiar dialect) 'the artist did not intend a composition of single figures, but one consisting of space with figures therein, a section of the universe'; nor that 'the background is no longer to be conceived as the ideal tactile surface of repose from which the individual forms which move in space spring, but as the optical indication of aerial space.' To admit such a possibility would be to surrender his cherished theory that the history of art may be reduced to a series of formulæ corresponding to stages in an orderly and unbroken development; for he holds that antiquity never reached the conception of space as uniting rather than dividing, of a composition which is more than a group of individual objects in 'planimetric' relation. Even in the reliefs of the Constantinian epoch he finds this to be the case with the composition as a whole, though the several figures are now disengaged from their background and isolated in individual spaces of three dimensions.

On the whole, Wickhoff is nearer the truth here than Riegl. It is impossible to deny that, at certain epochs, principles were intuitively divined by artists which their successors failed to grasp or to maintain. The ground conquered by Velasquez was not held by each and all of the painters who followed him. Flavian sculpture is in truth *sui generis*, and is the best which Rome has given us. Yet Wickhoff does not see the whole truth. For a few brief years the sure eye of the Italian artist was served by hands which had learnt to render with subtle selective touches the essentials of the thing seen. Wickhoff did well in bringing to due honour the processions from the triumph of Titus, arrested in full movement by the artist's magic; and we must bitterly regret the loss of many a panel and frieze from the buildings which

sprang up in all parts of Rome under the Flavian dynasty. A few fragments in the Lateran Museum remain to show how effective even the more hastily executed monuments of the time must have been; and the latest efforts of the court artists of Domitian in decorative sculpture are, as I believe, illustrated by the *tondi* of the Arch of Constantine.

But it was in portraiture that the Flavian sculptors achieved their most signal triumph. It was not, indeed, the members of the reigning house who furnished them with their most promising subjects. The rulers of the Flavian dynasty were frankly vulgar in appearance as in origin. Nor can we feel great admiration for the female portraits of the time, recognisable at a glance by their towering *toupets* of artificial curls. But the best male busts of the Flavian period have rarely been equalled and never surpassed. A Polish archaeologist, M. Bienkowski, has supplied a criterion by which the date of Roman busts may be inferred from their form. In the Augustan and Julio-Claudian era the breast only was rendered. The Flavian artist took in the shoulder, but did not indicate the junction of the arm. This is found in busts of the reign of Trajan; under Hadrian and the Antonines part of the upper arm is represented. Ultimately the bust developed into a half-length figure, though a return to the earlier forms was not uncommon in the third century. We are thus able to assign a number of portraits to the Flavian era; and the practised eye soon learns to recognise their style amongst the heads set on busts of all periods in modern times.

Mr Crowfoot has published in the 'Journal of Hellenic Studies' for 1900 some fine examples of this art, together with some pages of valuable criticism on their style. He rightly notes that, though there are Italian features in these busts, such evidence as we have goes to prove that the sculptors themselves were of Greek race, and shows that their excellence consists in the happy union of Hellenistic brilliancy and artifice with the unpretending fidelity to facts native to Italy and the West. It was, no doubt, the mixture of races in the capital of the world, whence issued the extraordinary subtlety and penetration, united with the highest technical dexterity, which went to the making of such a masterpiece as the

so-called Mark Antony of the Braccio Nuovo (Pl. II, fig. 2).

Wickhoff has the further merit of having shown how ornament underwent the same transformation as sculpture in the round or in relief. He singled out a pilaster (Pl. III, fig. 1) in the Lateran Museum which once formed part of the tomb of the Haterii on the Via Labicana, and showed that its style differed essentially, not merely from that of conventional Hellenistic ornament, but even from the naturalistic work of the Augustan age. Here we have no systematic study of natural forms, but an impression of growing life seized and transmuted by the artist's fancy, and rendered with exquisite subtlety and tact.* The value of Wickhoff's criticism is not lessened by the fact that in his lyrical enthusiasm for his subject he is led into avowing a belief that art, in its highest development, is concerned with form and not with subject, 'rejects with disdain all sources of extraneous interest such as religion or poetry, and, sufficient to itself, becomes in its last stage an art only for artists.'

The brief but brilliant activity of the Flavian period seems to have ended almost as suddenly as it began, about the commencement of the second century of the Christian era. There is a dearth of monuments which can be assigned to the early years of Trajan; but this lack is more than compensated by the wealth of material belonging to the closing period of the reign. The inscription on the base of Trajan's Column is dated in the year 113 A.D.; the triumphal arch which spanned the entrance to his Forum was completed in 117 A.D.; and the Arch of Beneventum bears an inscription dated 114 A.D. It was doubtless from the Forum of Trajan that Constantine borrowed the great frieze which was sawn up into four portions to decorate his arch; while we must assign to the same cycle of decoration fragments in the Louvre and the Villa

* Wickhoff's sure feeling for style enabled him to pronounce unhesitatingly as to the date of the pilaster and thus to correct the view which assigned the monument to the second century. The male and female busts, as Mr Crowfoot has pointed out (J.H.S. 1900, p. 36), are certainly Flavian; and the mode of wearing the hair in the latter instance has its parallel in the case of the daughter in the portrait-group at Chatsworth (J. H. S. 1901, plate xv), where the mother is Flavian. But the sculptures from the monument of the Haterii are not all of one date, and need further discussion.



PLATE III. FIG. 1.

PILASTER FROM MONUMENT OF
HATERII (Lateran Museum).



PLATE III. FIG. 2.

PILASTER (Lateran Museum).

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Medici, as well as the reliefs in the portico of the Villa Borghese hitherto incorrectly attributed to the Arch of Claudius.

Now the art which these monuments reveal is, in more than one respect, the very antithesis of that Flavian art which has just been discussed. Of no art could it be said with less truth that its form was of more importance than its subject. Yet this is what Wickhoff pronounces, by an unjustifiable generalisation from the phenomena of the Flavian period, to be true of the art of the Roman Empire in general. The truth is that to the brief span of time in which Greek sleight of hand, united with Italian keenness of vision, subdued nature to its will, there succeeded a period in which, under a strong and strenuous ruler, something of the old Roman *disciplina* was revived, and great achievements demanded a pictorial chronicle. This the Roman artists supplied in the Roman manner, and, in spite of glaring technical defects, with a considerable measure of success. The finest works of the school are the battle-scenes which now adorn the Arch of Constantine, in which the tumultuous sweep of the *mèlée* is rendered with unrestrained vigour; but the reliefs of the Column give a truer index of the character of the time. We discern the accurate observation and faithful rendering of detail which make the reliefs so valuable to the antiquarian student of Roman military equipment; we find examples of careful, even of artistically effective portraiture, though the capacity of the individual sculptors employed on the reliefs varied greatly; and we notice a thoroughly Roman determination in attacking problems, notably of perspective, the solution of which lay beyond the technical capacity of the artist. For with the decline of Hellenistic influence comes a failure to recognise the limits imposed on art by its material conditions, a failure which we shall find increasingly prominent.

It is remarkable that the Roman sculptors of Trajan's later years should so far have lost touch with Greek technique as to represent the human eye in full face when it should have been shown in profile—a peculiarity which, apart from external evidence, should have sufficed to show to what group of monuments the reliefs in the Villa Borghese were to be assigned. Notwithstanding these defects, the purely Roman art of the Trajanic period

compels our admiration as a vigorous outgrowth of the Italian spirit in which the sap of life runs freely; and there can be no doubt that throughout the peninsula monuments of this school arose. Only a few years ago, excavations at Turin brought to light some remarkable fragments of sculpture, apparently connected with a gateway which may have been restored by one of the city's famous sons, Q. Glitius Agricola. But the Arch of Beneventum is by far the most important monument of this time outside Rome itself. In form it follows closely the Arch of Titus; but it is crowded with decoration, and each panel is pregnant with meaning, whilst the balance and symmetry of the parts make up, as von Domaszewski has shown, an *ensemble* in which the achievements of a great ruler in Rome and in the provinces, in peace and in war, are worthily summed up.*

In the person of Hadrian an artist once more ascended the throne; but his influence could have no effect save to arrest the course of artistic development for a few years by an attempt to restore the classical conventions. In this reign archaism in literature found its counterpart in classicism in art. We can form a long list of sculptures taken from the Imperial Villa near Tibur which serve only to illustrate the monotonous repetition of Greek types in a smooth, facile, but wholly uninspired technique. It was as an architect that Hadrian believed himself to be specially gifted; but, if we may suppose him to have furnished designs for the double Temple of Venus and Rome, and for the cupolas of the Villa, we cannot see in these anything more than the fantasies of a dilettante.

In truth there was, in the second century A.D., no power which could stay the process of the time, which was leading to the disintegration and dethronement of the classical standard. It was with reason that Renan, in his study of Marcus Aurelius, described the reign of that emperor as 'the end of the ancient world.' Though

* It is quite true that the 'architect' of Trajan's Forum, Apollodorus of Damascus, was Greek in name and Syrian by origin; but this does not, in my opinion, justify us in treating, with Petersen ('Die Marcussäule, p. 98), the reliefs of the Column as Greek in conception and treatment, except in so far as Roman art absorbed Hellenistic conventions, nor in speaking, with Strzygowski ('M'schatta,' p. 298), of the 'stream of Syrian influences' which began, with Apollodorus, to pour into Rome.

the conventions and types of Greek art might have been discarded without loss to make way for the art of a new civilisation, it was difficult, and in fact, as it proved, impossible, for the artists of the Roman Empire to disengage those conventions from the unchanging principles by which the limits of artistic representation and the boundaries of the several arts are fixed. The meaning of this statement may perhaps most easily be made clear by a retrospect of the history of bas-relief.

It has always been recognised that the abstractions and limitations by which Greek sculptors of the classical period were conditioned began to give way to a freer treatment in the Hellenistic age. Such compositions as the frieze of the Parthenon, in which the background was ideally simplified and the figures projected on a plane surface, no longer satisfied the artist or his public. Elements of grouping, and more especially of landscape, were introduced into bas-relief; and in this respect it became assimilated, though by a very gradual process, to the sister art of painting, which was itself undergoing a great transformation, depending for its appeal on colour rather than on line, and gaining in depth, space, and illumination. In asking how far this change in the principles of bas-relief had been carried by the Augustan period, we approach a thorny question. Theodor Schreiber has maintained that most of the 'pictorial reliefs' which he has collected belong to the Hellenistic period. But this is almost certainly not the case. The landscape element is found in the frieze from the great altar of Pergamon representing the story of Telephos, but its effects are only sparingly employed; and it is hard to point to any relief of the pictorial class, except a singular fragment found at Tralles and recently described in the '*Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*', which seems clearly pre-Roman.

Undoubtedly, however, it was the need for decoration in the private and public parks and gardens of this period which called into existence such reliefs as those from a well-head whose panels, once in the Palazzo Grimani at Venice, are now at Vienna,* and the modification of votive reliefs in a pictorial sense, a process illustrated by monu-

* Published by Schreiber in 1888.

ments from all parts of the Greek world, seems to have led to the production of sculptures in which the religious meaning becomes insignificant and the ornamental function evident. Thus reliefs with mythological subjects imitated the *āvabījāra* of dramatic poets. But Schreiber seems to be in error when he maintains that such panels took the place of pictures in a framework of marble incrustation in the Alexandrian era. Even in the Augustan age, though, as has been shown above, the technical skill of the artist enabled him to treat all materials in a practically uniform style, the boundaries of painting and sculpture were still distinct. The Grimani reliefs at Vienna may indeed belong to this period; and there is a class of Roman sarcophagi, belonging apparently to the first century A.D., in which the spaces left by a series of pendent festoons are filled with sculptured compositions, mythological in subject, which recall, and are in fact clearly taken from, the *répertoire* of the silversmith. But the large panels with pictorial reliefs, such as the well-known series in the Palazzo Spada, are most probably creations of the second century, to which period, as it is important to note, we must certainly attribute the fragments of such compositions as have from time to time been found in the remains of the Imperial palaces.* Finally, no one will deny that the panels in the Palazzo Rondinini, which must at one time have decorated the sanctuary of Æsculapius on the island in the Tiber, belong to the time of Antoninus Pius, one of whose medallions presents a scene from this series.

Thus the conditions imposed by material and technique were finally disregarded; and this process was naturally consummated in an age when the choice of the material came to be determined rather by its rarity or intrinsic qualities of colour, transparency, and the like, than by its fitness for the artist's purpose. It is to the time of Hadrian, or his successor, that we should, for example, assign the reliefs in *rosso antico*, one of which is a replica of the scene of Daedalus and Icarus; while another (in the Capitoline Museum) is repeated in almost every detail in a coin-type, known from a medallion of Antoninus Pius now in the British Museum.

* Mr A. J. B. Wace is about to publish a full account of these reliefs.

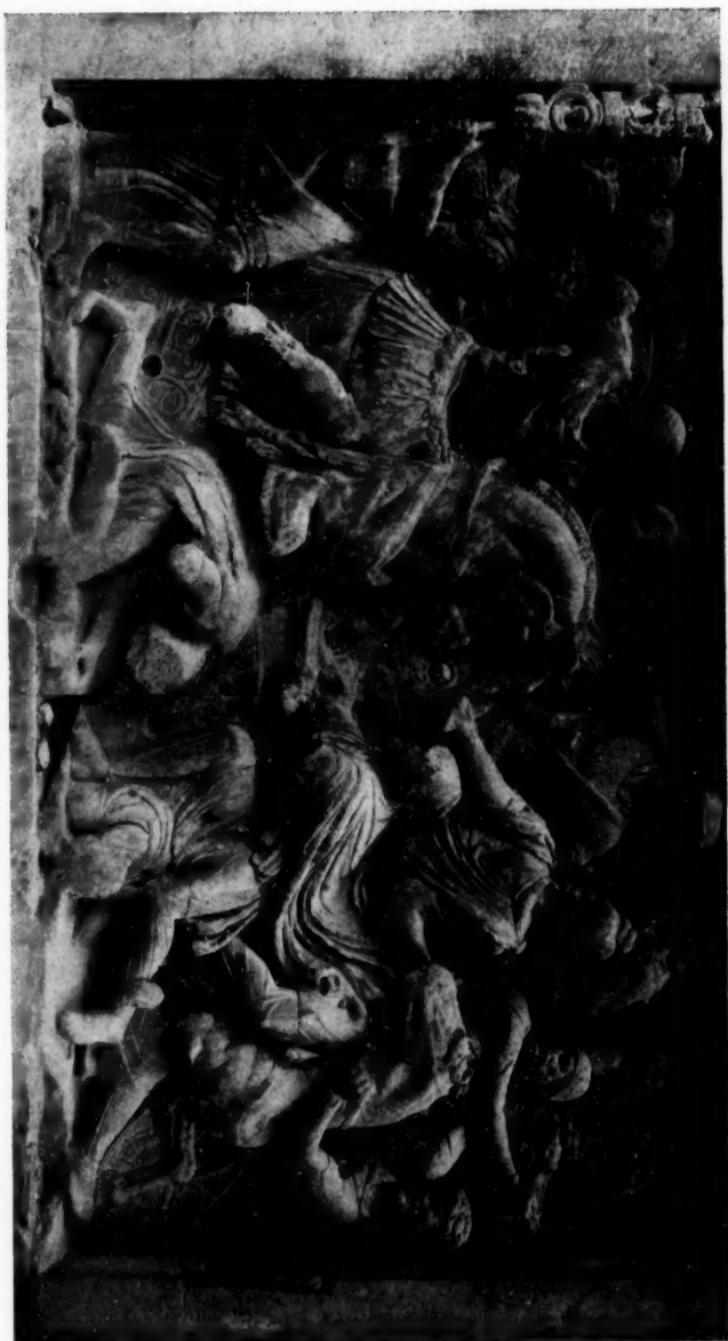
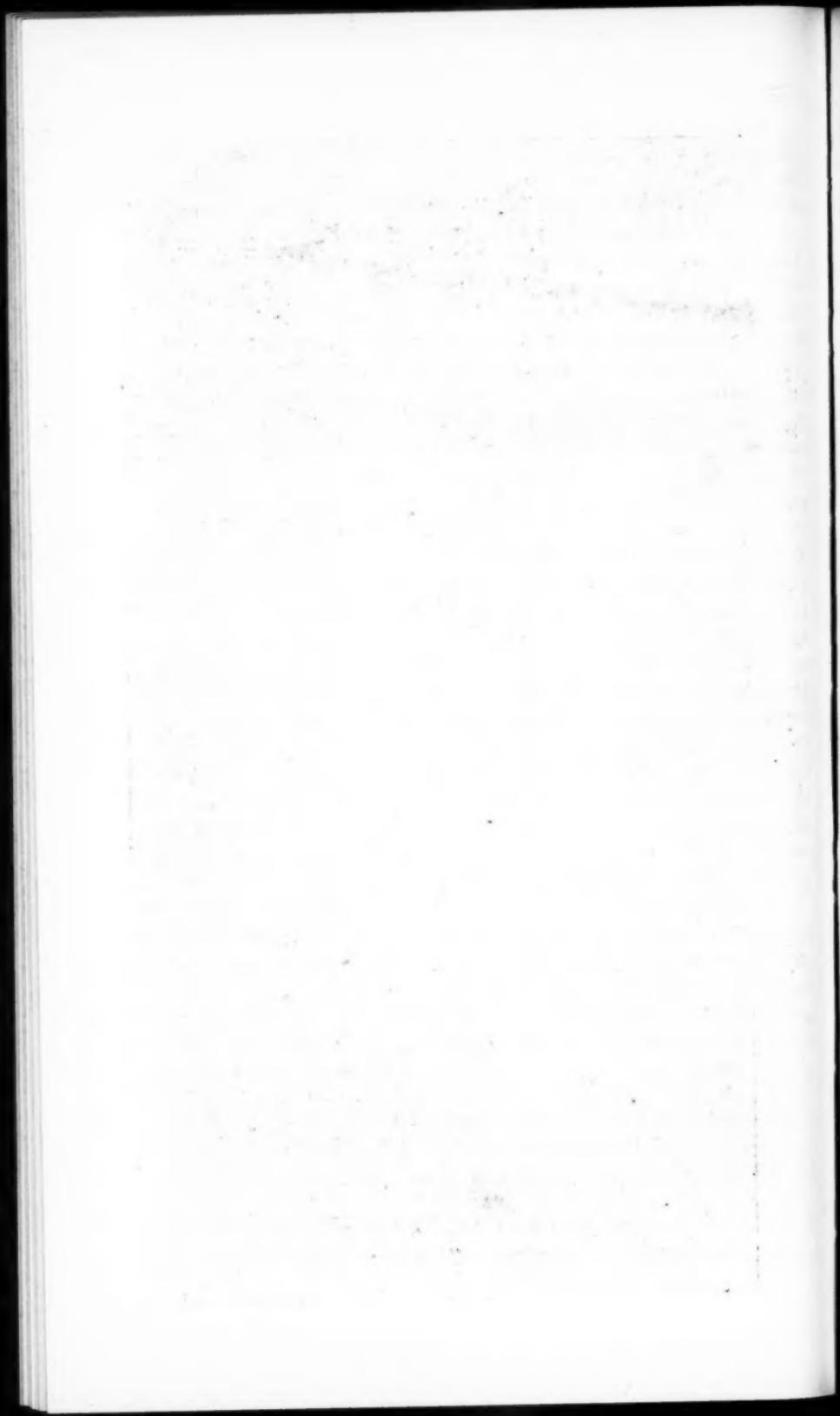


PLATE IV.
THE BATTLE OF THE DACIANS (removed by Constantine from Trajan's Forum).



Wickhoff has much to say of the 'continuous' style of representation, of which the columns of Trajan and M. Aurelius furnish the principal examples. This he maintains to be a 'specifically Roman product,' in which 'a new western and Roman art rises before our eyes.' The battle-piece from the Arch of Constantine (Pl. IV) is, in his view, a work of this nature, 'in which the illusionist style seems to open all its flood-gates.' These views can only be accepted with important reservations. The 'Battle of the Dacians' cannot be termed 'illusionist' in the sense in which that word was applied to Flavian sculpture; nor is it easy to trace any essential connexion between illusionism and the continuous style, for its 'ideal treatment of time' hardly forms such a link. In point of fact, the continuous style has its origins in Greek art, especially in that of the Hellenistic age, e.g. in the Telephos frieze from Pergamon. The principle, moreover, is that of the Odyssey landscapes and the class of decorative paintings to which they belong, though it is tempered by the introduction of architectural divisions; and it was no doubt applied to the illustration of books, although the MSS. in which we find it so used, such as the Vienna Genesis, belong to a much later date. But the application of the principle to the decoration of a column, though the idea may rightly be claimed as Roman, is the mark of an age in which the sense of fitness in decoration was on the point of being lost, and the eye could not be satisfied save with an excess of ornament which suppressed all suggestion of function.

We must now pause to consider whether the decay of Hellenism involved the use of a new set of principles in any way connected with racial characteristics. Here we begin to tread the ground of controversy between Strzygowski and his critics. For Strzygowski holds that, in the first three centuries of the Roman Empire, which he proposes to call the 'later Hellenistic period,' Rome, although the political capital of the world, was 'receptive' in the matter of art; and that the keynote of the time is the gradual permeation of Hellenism by Oriental ideas, leading to their final triumph in Byzantium. We are far from denying that the history of the Empire does in fact present the spectacle of a civilisation, western in origin, gradually invaded and ultimately transformed by

eastern ideas. The spread and final triumph of Christianity is but one feature in this momentous process, whose ultimate issue could already be foreseen in the reign of Marcus Aurelius. It is also true that art shared in this great transformation in a very definite and traceable manner. But the immediate result of the decline which befell the sovereignty of Hellenic ideas was not at once to open the door to Orientalism, but rather, by depriving art of its stock of leading principles, to give local forces freer play. The trophy of Adamklissi, though it ranks very low as an artistic product, is eminently interesting as showing the work of many hands at a time when, though the Empire obeyed one political sovereign, anarchy was beginning in the realm of ideas. Studniczka, in his instructive study of the trophy, has rightly drawn attention to the distinction of hands in its carvings, amongst which are some which are startling in their likeness to the work of Oriental and early Byzantine craftsmen; while the architectural conception and the ornament as a whole belong to the Imperial art of Rome, and the execution, in general, points to Italy and the West.

Under these conditions, the Roman genius found its most congenial field of exercise in architectural construction. Space forbids us here to treat this subject in detail; but Strzygowski's wealth of argument fails to establish on secure foundations his belief that fertility in architectural conceptions belongs rather to the Oriental than to the Roman mind. In the introduction to 'Orient oder Rom' he expressed the belief that the excavations undertaken at Baalbek, at the instance of the German Emperor, would furnish proofs of his thesis; but the importance of their results lies precisely in the fact that, in the words of Puchstein (who speaks with unquestioned authority on the subject of ancient architecture) and the colleagues who accompanied him in a survey of all the Roman monuments of Syria,

'the great majority of our monuments is Roman, in the taste of the later Empire, and executed in forms which appear to have their origin in the West, uniform in style, yet everywhere with local and provincial *nuances*.'

* 'Jahrbuch des k. deutschen Arch. Instituts,' 1902, p. 110.

In a more recent work, 'Kleinasiens, ein Neuland der Kunstgeschichte,' Strzygowski sets before us plans of a great number of Anatolian churches of the fourth and succeeding centuries, and argues from their wide variety of type that the East was the home of versatile and original architects whose wealth of ideas, carried westwards through northern Italy to southern Gaul, formed a mine of suggestions developed by later generations, while Rome was, as it were, a stagnant backwater, and Roman buildings continued to harp on the well-worn theme of the Constantinian Basilica. In so far as Strzygowski's argument deals with the origins of Romanesque and Lombard architecture, it cannot here be examined;* but in face of the constructive genius displayed in the great Thermae and in the Basilica of Maxentius and Constantine, and the scientific structural adaptation of brick and concrete, in which it cannot be allowed that the East pointed the way, we must regard Strzygowski's view as reversing the true order of facts if applied to the history of the Empire so long as Rome remained its capital.

But while the paramount importance of Rome in architectural construction was not diminished, Oriental modes of artistic expression were slowly but surely becoming dominant throughout the Roman world. Hellenism, the great barrier between East and West, was breaking down. In the second and first centuries B.C. Roman arms had hurled back the invader; and Rome, conceiving it as her mission not only to protect but to extend the boundaries of Hellenic civilisation in the East, had prolonged the life of that civilisation for some centuries. But arms could not arrest the victorious march of Oriental ideas at a time when the force of the Greek genius was spent. The immediate result of that decay was, as we have seen, to give play to provincialism. It has been disputed by Studniczka and Furtwängler whether, in the rude products of local schools under the Empire, we are to see the revival of an archaism never wholly extinct, or merely the decadence of free Hellenistic forms. It is certain that, in an Empire where facility of inter-communication was so great, the influence of the

* See an article in the 'Quarterly Review' for April 1903, written, however, before Strzygowski's views took their final shape in 'Kleinasiens.'

types created by Greek artists could not be wholly absent in any part,* yet in every province these were modified by local and racial characteristics. The future, however, lay not with these local growths, but with new systems of ideas and new modes of regarding art and nature having their home in the East, but now called to determine the direction of human progress.

In the domain of art the highest place in the scale of value was given to effects produced either by brilliant and contrasted colours or by the play of light and shade distributed over the whole field of decoration. Of the former class we shall have to speak more especially in connexion with mosaics. The latter principle is exhibited in sculpture and more especially in ornament. It may seem strange that, at a time when so high a value was set on colour, the practice of painting statues should have become wholly or in part obsolete; it is certainly the case that the high polish which was given to the surface of works of the Antonine period was a substitute for polychrome treatment. But the new spirit is seen in the rendering of the hair as we see it, for example, in the portraits of Marcus Aurelius and his contemporaries. By a free use of the drill the whole surface is broken up into patches of light and shade, which produce the effect of a complicated pattern.† The plastic indication of pupil and iris—which, from slight beginnings‡ had, by the middle of the second century A.D., become the subject of a convention depending on violent contrasts of light and shade—is another feature in the same process.

It is, however, in bas-relief and in ornament that the new principle is most clearly seen at work. The essential characteristic of this art is what we may call the *horror plani*. Classical Greek art imposed definite limits on decoration and projected its figures on a plane background which gave repose to the eye and allowed the purely structural features of a monument their due

* The uniformity of the representations of Mithras and the bull may serve to illustrate the facility with which art-types traversed the Empire.

† The well-known bust of Commodus in the Palazzo dei Conservatori illustrates this treatment, the effect of which is heightened by contrast with the highly polished surface of the face.

‡ The outline of the pupil may be traced on the relief from the *Ara Pacis Augustae*, discovered in October 1903, and visible during the winter 1903-4, but now again consigned to darkness.

weight. In the Hellenistic period, as was shown above, sculpture sought to rival the 'depth of focus' which painting had already attained by rendering the natural features of the background; and this process continued its advance under the early Roman Empire. But in the second century the background tends to disappear altogether. The whole surface is filled with figures, relieved only by deep shadows, with the result that, to the eye habituated to the Greek aesthetic standard, Roman sarcophagi present simply a bewildering crowd of figures too intricate for comprehension.

The net result of this process is that figure-subjects gradually lose their significance and are reduced to a form of ornament. Ornament, in fact, becomes the predominant factor in art, and is valued in proportion to its richness and intricacy. Wickhoff rightly selected a pilaster in the Lateran Museum (Pl. III, fig. 2) as showing the distance traversed by Roman art in the century following the Flavian period. To him the relief *en creux*, which, as he justly notes, is 'pictorial rather than plastic in effect,' marks a backward step. Riegl, on the other hand, sees in it the incorporation of a new principle, and thus a decided progress 'beyond the limits of the antique.' In the first place, the surface of decoration is envisaged as a flat surface. Deep as the under-cutting is, plastic modelling and projection are in no sense the artist's object. He aims rather at breaking up his surface into strictly complementary elements of high light and shadow; and, in spite of the fact that the individual figures are executed in high relief, the absence of a background on which they can be projected flattens the total effect. Riegl expresses this by saying that later Roman art calculated its effects for long sight, while Greek art appealed to normal vision.

Moreover, it is to be noted that the use of complementary lights and shadows is eminently pictorial—is, in fact, the application of chiaroscuro to sculpture. Now this invasion of the proper domain of plastic art by pictorial principles is characteristic of a time which sought satisfaction in brilliant contrasts of colour. If the thesis which Dr Richter endeavours to establish in his work on the 'Golden Age of Classic Christian Art' were correct, we should possess in the mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore

a series of works belonging to the decoration of a basilica of the time of the Severi, once resplendent with sheen and colour, but now defaced by dirt, dust, and restoration. But his arguments are inadequate to support his contention; and both the church and its mosaics must be referred to the fourth century. Nevertheless it is beyond doubt that, in the palaces and thermae built by such emperors as Caracalla, Septimius Severus, Severus Alexander, Diocletian, and Constantine, the vaultings and wall-surfaces were bejewelled with *musivum opus*, properly so called, viz. mosaic in cubes of vitreous paste.

Riegl's sketch of the history of ancient art is introductory to his study of certain products of artistic industry, consisting of jewellery and bronze work belonging to the period of the barbaric invasions. He has subjected their system of ornament to a convincing analysis, but is on less secure ground when he upholds their relatively early date and Roman character. No one will dispute that they were precisely calculated to satisfy the demands of the Roman world in the decadence of the Empire, or that they are the outcome of the principles which we saw at work in sculpture and ornament; but the reason for this is to be sought in the fact that Roman civilisation was Orientalised in the century and a half which followed the Antonine period.

It is probable that the next ten years will see many attempts to solve the problems which here arise. For example, the transformation of architectural ornament by the 'complementary' principle, whose effects are obtained by the contrast of light pattern and dark background, may have been due to direct Oriental influence. There is a class of sarcophagi whose architectural background is richly decorated in capital, impost, entablature, and cornice, each surface being treated almost like the setting of *cloisonné* enamel. Several of these have been found in Asia Minor; and in one, which is of Christian origin, the centre of the composition is occupied by a youthful figure of the Saviour.* Strzygowski claims the whole class as Anatolian. But three at least of the group are of Italian provenance; and, whatever may be said of the enrichment of the architectural members, the scheme as a whole

* Published by Strzygowski in 'Orient oder Rom,' plate ii.

is certainly adapted from wall-decorations of a type found in Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli, now in the Gabinetto delle Maschere of the Vatican. Again, Mr Dalton has made out a strong case* for assigning to *orfévrerie cloisonnée* and its analogues an Oriental origin, and justly concludes that 'a change of taste in the direction of coloristic effect was all that was needed to insure its introduction into the Roman provinces.' An approximate date is given by the pierced frames of Szilagy-Somlyó, which enclose medallion-portraits of emperors from Maximian to Gratian. Moreover, the principles of ornament analysed above reach the height of their development in Persian and Saracenic art; and a vivid illustration of the process which leads from the Lateran pilaster to their unchecked exuberance and intricacy is furnished by the façade removed from the M'schatta (a building usually held to be of the sixth century, but believed by Strzygowski to be of earlier date) and recently acquired by the Kaiser-Friedrich Museum in Berlin.

We have spoken at length of ornament because it is in ornament that the new principles reveal themselves most clearly. But over and above this, the stress laid on pure ornament involves a comparative neglect of the human figure. We see, in fact, the working of the principle which leavens all Semitic religions and issues in the exclusion of living forms by the art of Judaism and Islamism and the iconoclastic movement in Oriental Christianity. Roman portrait-sculpture, indeed, as the most vigorous branch of Italian art, long retained its power of characterisation, and continued during the greater part of the third century to produce works of eminent distinction. The Berlin 'Caracalla,' the 'Philippus Arabs' of the Braccio Nuovo, and the 'Gallienus' of the Louvre, are true masterpieces. It is indeed a remarkable fact that under the last-named Emperor, who seems to have been largely endowed with personal vanity, a school of portraiture arose which returned to a more naturalistic rendering of the hair after a period during which it had been indicated merely by a series of strokes of the chisel sprinkled over a smooth surface. Here plastic effect is so far as possible dispensed with, and

* In 'Archæologia,' Iviii, 237 ff.

the artist leaves all to chiaroscuro; but under Gallienus we find many effective portraits resembling in style those of the reigning emperor* and recognisable at a glance by their tumbled hair and deeply-graven pupils.

But by the close of that century a great change has taken place. In the portraits of Constantine and his successors we see an abrupt break with the principles and methods hitherto dominant in Roman portraiture. The rigid pose of the head, the stony, expressionless stare of the eyes, and the strict 'frontality' of the figure, by their negation of all that classical art had achieved in individualisation, carry us back to the principles of Oriental sculpture from which the Greek genius, by long and painful labour, emancipated itself. With 'frontality,' as Lange has named the absence of lateral curvature in the median line of the figure, ancient sculpture ends as it began. Nor can we doubt that Eastern influence is at work here. The porphyry sculptures, of which Strzygowski has written in the 'Beiträge zur alten Geschichte' (ii, 104), betray, by their style and material, as well as (in more than one case) by their *provenance*, an Egyptian origin. By the time of Justinian, as the mosaics of San Vitale show, the frontal principle—which Riegl prefers to call in this, its latest form, 'axiality'—is triumphant in both painting and mosaic.

Meanwhile the victory of Christianity had revealed a new world for art to conquer; and, although the transference of the Imperial residence to the New Rome on the Bosphorus closed the day of Old Rome as an art-centre, it is certain that in the basilicas of the fourth century the new religion found brilliant expression. Confined to the Catacombs, Christian art had contented itself with a limited *répertoire* of typical subjects pregnant with symbolical meaning but inferior in technical execution. But the basilica, as a centre of Christian worship, demanded the best that art could offer for its adornment; and in it the new artistic principles are as truly embodied as are those of the new religion. For it is not only true that the centre of interest is shifted from the exterior to the interior by reason of the fact that

* A good example in the Magazzino Archeologico is here reproduced (Pl. II, fig. 4), and a portrait of the time of Constantine (Pl. II, fig. 5).

worship now took place within and not without the sacred building ; there is also an artistic reason for the neglect of external form in the basilica.

So long as Hellenism was dominant, architects had no feeling for internal spaces. The building was a mass to be regarded externally ; and its claim to beauty rested on the harmony of its stereometric proportions. Roman builders were the first, as Riegl has acutely remarked, to treat space as a material, with what consummate effect the interior of the Pantheon would suffice to show. But in the later Imperial period it was no longer simple space problems which called for solution. The love of effects attained by *chiaroscuro* and colour led to the articulation of the internal space by windows, and to the invasion of the remaining background by figure-subjects usually executed in mosaic. Such problems were certainly attacked in the third century ; and an example of their solution remains in the building known as the Temple of Minerva Medica, really a thermal construction belonging to the Gardens of Gallienus. But it was in the Christian architecture of the fourth century, whether of the 'central' type, as in S. Costanza, or of the basilican form, that the latest triumphs of Roman art were won. Dr Richter's splendid publication has enabled us to form some idea, not merely of the wealth of imagery with which Christian artists enriched the buildings enshrining the highest acts of Christian worship, but also of the subtle colour-sense which had not yet been dazzled by the jewellery of the East. The gamut of tints in which sky and landscape were composed throughout the historical scenes in the mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore reveal a marvellous delicacy of perception in the artist, and form, as it were, a radiant after-glow of classical art. It is significant that, as Dr Richter shows, no gilding was used in the original decoration. Pure Orientalism, with its love of precious materials for their sheer intrinsic splendour, has not yet finally prevailed, as it was soon to do at Byzantium ; and as the sun sets on ancient art, beauty is once more conceived as the harmonising union of matter and spirit.

H. STUART JONES.

Art. VII.—THE LIGHT-TREATMENT OF DISEASE.

1. *Meddelelser fra Finsens Medicinske Lysinstitut.* By Niels R. Finsen. Parts I-IX. Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel-Forlag, 1899-1904.
2. *Om Bekæmpelse af Lupus vulgaris.* By Niels R. Finsen. Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel-Forlag, 1903.
3. *Photothérapie, Photobiologie.* By L. E. Leredde et L. M. Pautrier. Paris: C. Naud, 1903.

And other works.

NIELS RYBERG FINSEN, famous throughout the world for his treatment of Lupus and other diseases by means of light, was born on December 15, 1860, at Thorshavn in the Faroe Islands. His family were of Icelandic origin. He studied at Reykjavik, the capital of Iceland, and in 1890 took his medical degree in Copenhagen. For three years after this he held the post of prosector of anatomy in that university, but gave it up in order to devote himself to the work that he had mapped out for himself, and continued to pursue till his death on Sept. 24, 1904.

His first contribution to the subject of the effects of light on the skin appeared in 1893. He made many experiments in this direction, and in 1896 published a short paper on the medical application of the light-rays. During the eleven years which intervened between his first publication on light and his death, Finsen held steadily on his way, notwithstanding severe chronic illness. Thanks to his energy, and at first mainly through the private munificence of MM. Hagemann and Jørgensen, a Light Institute was built in Copenhagen. Subsequently the State lent its assistance; and Finsen himself generously handed over to the Light Institute and the Sanatorium for diseases of the heart and liver the greater part of the proceeds of the Nobel prize awarded to him for his work. Our own Queen Alexandra has taken the greatest interest in Finsen's discoveries, and has shown her usual practical sympathy by the gift of the Finsen apparatus to the London Hospital. The Copenhagen Institute comprises, in addition to the installations and rooms for the treatment of patients, an experimental laboratory, where the subject of light is thoroughly investigated.

In order to comprehend the principles and methods

of light-treatment, a brief preliminary discussion of the laws and composition of light is desirable. When a beam of white light is passed through a slit and caught upon a glass prism, the rays are refracted in an unequal manner, giving rise, if received on a screen, to a rainbow-like band varying in colour from red to violet. This is called the spectrum, which is made up of seven principal regions—red, orange, yellow, green, blue, indigo, and violet. These rays vary in refrangibility, becoming increasingly refrangible from red to violet; and also in wave-length, which increases from violet to red. The solar spectrum exhibits a number of transverse dark lines, due to absorption by gases either in the sun's atmosphere or in that of the earth. It is by a study of these lines that the presence of various terrestrial elements in the sun's atmosphere has been discovered, including helium, which appears to be an emanation from radium.

But the radiation from the sun does not consist only of rays perceived by the eye. There are rays of greater wave-length than the red and others of less wave-length than the violet rays; they form the invisible spectrum, the regions beyond the luminous band being called the infra-red and the ultra-violet respectively; the latter can be brought out by photography. This has led to a division of the solar spectrum into three kinds of rays, the invisible heat rays (red and infra-red), the luminous rays (red to violet, that is, the whole of the visible spectrum), and the chemical or actinic rays (violet and ultra-violet). This division is not strictly correct, as it has been shown that the nature of the surface on which the rays fall is also a factor in the effects observed; but, for present purposes, the threefold division will serve.

Before considering light in its biological aspect, its influence on chemical compounds must be briefly described. Scheele long ago called attention to the changes brought about in chloride of silver when exposed to light. The decomposition of silver nitrate is a well-known phenomenon, which is used, for instance, in photography. Other salts, such as iodide of lead, chloride of gold, and some iron salts, are also decomposed by light. Chemical combinations are likewise influenced, as in the case of hydrogen and chlorine. Among other photo-chemical changes, the oxidation of guaiacum resin, which turns

blue under the influence of light, may be mentioned. Some bodies again are not influenced by light when isolated, but only when mixed; as is the case with nitrate of uranium in alcohol (but not in water), bichromate of potash, and gelatine. Phosphorus is modified by light, as are also some kinds of glass. Berthelot has pointed out that the chemical phenomena brought about by light are complex in origin, but he is of opinion that most of them, if not all, are exothermic—that is, that light plays the part of a mere inciter, without losing any of its energy. On the other hand, in so-called endothermic photo-chemical phenomena, light energy is transformed into chemical energy.

This much being stated by way of preliminary, the influence of light on living organisms can now be considered, although it is not possible in this place to describe in detail the numerous experiments that have been made in this direction. The stimulating action of the sun's rays on plant-life is well known. Priestley, the great English natural philosopher and pioneer of modern chemistry (1733–1804), showed that oxygen (or 'dephlogisticated air,' as he called it) was given off by green leaves under the influence of sunlight. Moleschott, the physiologist, also found that frogs give off more carbonic acid under the influence of light than in the dark.

Light, by influencing the green colouring matter of plants (chlorophyll), splits up the carbonic acid of the air into carbon and oxygen. By the combination of the carbon with water, starch is built up by the plant. The oxygen given off serves, *inter alia*, for the respiratory purposes of animals. In this way is the cycle of life carried on. 'Rien ne se perd, rien ne se crée,' as Lavoisier put it. Engelmann long ago showed that when the amoeba-like rhizopod, *Pelomyxa palustris*, is suddenly illuminated, the creeping elongated protoplasmic body at once assumes a spherical shape and becomes motionless; and he subsequently discovered a bacterium which is extremely sensitive to the effects of light-rays. This mobile organism, which he named *Bacterium photometricum*, is furnished with a *flagellum* or whip-like appendage by means of which it is propelled. When exposed to light, this bacterium moves about actively in the field of the microscope; but, if it is brought into darkness, the motion gradually

ceases, to return when the animal is again exposed to light. Further, this investigator was able to show that it was the orange and the ultra-red rays of the spectrum which especially exert this influence. In the foregoing experiments, the effects of light-stimulation are negative (as in *Pelomyxa*) or positive (as in *B. photometricum*). The phenomenon has received the name of 'phototaxis.'

In connexion with the present subject, the experiments of Verworn with a ciliated infusorium, *Pleuronema chrysalis*, should not be omitted. These small organisms exhibit curious jumping movements when exposed to light. It was shown that these movements are not a thermal effect of ordinary daylight, but are due chiefly to the action of the blue and violet rays of the spectrum, that is, the rays which exert the least thermal effect. The same result could be obtained by heat-rays; but ordinary daylight is not sufficient, a considerable intensity of sunlight being requisite. Engelmann again found that the motion of those remarkable microscopical organisms, diatoms (*Diatomaceæ*, an order of unicellular algae), can be influenced by light. The movements of these organisms are arrested when they are placed in a dark chamber and oxygen excluded, to return again when light acted upon them. Absence of oxygen leads to cessation of movement; but the diatoms exposed to light again split up the carbonic acid into oxygen and carbon by means of their yellow colouring matter, which is allied to chlorophyll. If space allowed, we might mention a number of other experiments which have brought out the importance of the blue, violet, and ultra-violet rays in the production of excito-motor phenomena.

We may now deal with the effects of light on bacteria. In this country, Downes and Blunt were the first to carry out experiments with solar light in this direction (1877); and, although these experiments were somewhat crude and open to objections, they called attention to the bactericidal power of light. As a result of their experiments, these investigators considered that the action of light on bacteria was mainly due to the chemical or actinic portion of the spectrum. Duclaux insisted on the influence of temperature and of the nutrient medium employed for growing the bacteria. Arloing and Roux, and also Nocard and Strauss, took up the subject in

France, experimenting with the *Bacillus anthracis*, the microbe which causes malignant pustule (anthrax) and wool-sorter's disease. Arloing found that ordinary gas-light is sufficient to retard the development of the spores in artificial media, but does not affect their virulence. On the other hand, sunlight gradually attenuates the virulence of the cultures. The spores of *Bacillus anthracis* are very resistant to heat and to antiseptics; yet Arloing found they succumbed more readily to light than the bacilli themselves. Roux showed, however, that this unexpected result is due to changes in the growing media employed, which interfere with the germination of the spores. The experiments of Pansini are important in this connexion. He exposed cultures of the *Bacillus anthracis* to sunlight, by the method known as 'the hanging drop,' and made examinations at intervals of ten minutes. He found that, the longer the exposure, the fewer are the colonies of microbes.

Here it may be stated in a general way that, whereas diffuse daylight has but little effect on germs, the solar rays are more or less bactericidal; but this depends on the time of year, the length of exposure, the dryness or moisture of the micro-organisms, the conditions of the media, the state of the atmosphere, and so forth.

During the last quarter of a century many investigations have been carried out with the view of ascertaining the influence of light alone (the factor heat being excluded), and also of finding out the kind of radiation responsible for the results observed. Janowski experimented with the *Bacillus typhosus*, the micro-organism which causes typhoid or enteric fever. He subjected cultures to monochromatic radiations, obtained by passing light through solutions of bichromate of potash, Bismarck brown, and various aniline dyes. He checked the results obtained in this way by testing the various radiations by means of photographic paper. The radiations which act most powerfully on the paper, viz. the actinic or chemical rays, also kill the *Bacillus typhosus* most readily. Kotliar carried out similar experiments with the *Bacillus prodigiosus*, which in medieval times gave rise to the miraculous blood-stained bread and sacred Host. The microbe grew as abundantly under the red rays as it did in the dark; but the development was extremely slow

when the inoculated tubes were exposed to the actinic or violet rays.

The foregoing experiments were made with sunlight; but Geissler went a step further and employed the electric arc-light as well, with similar results. Buchner again confirmed this, but he used flat glass boxes (Petri's) for his cultures instead of cylindrical test-tubes and spherical flasks, thus doing away with any interference with the rays due to the shape of the vessel.

With regard to the microbe which gives rise to diphtheria, Ledoux-Lebard found that the violet rays killed this bacillus, the influence of the red rays being nil. More recently Finsen and Bie of Copenhagen have made further researches in the same direction, but with a powerful electric arc-light. Bie worked with the red *Bacillus prodigiosus*. The bactericidal action of the rays of the spectrum was found to increase from the red to the violet, the maximum effect being obtained with the violet and ultra-violet, that is the chemical or actinic rays. Bie estimated their power at 96 per cent. as compared with 4 per cent. for the other radiations. The same observer made experiments with yeast and fungi. He found that they resist light longer than bacteria, and that the pigmented kinds resist far longer than the non-pigmented.

These experiments demonstrated the fact that light has a bactericidal action, which depends on the chemical rays, and that a positive effect can be obtained if the light employed is sufficiently strong and concentrated. Taken with the results obtained by Richardson, Marshall Ward, and others, and also with the experiments of Momont, who found that the bactericidal action of light did not occur *in vacuo*, they give ground for thinking that the process is one of oxidation, both of the protoplasm of the micro-organisms and of the nutrient media in which they grow. It must not be lost sight of, however, that bacteria in the natural state are not in the same conditions as those cultivated artificially and subjected to the action of light in laboratories. The influence of sunlight as a scavenger in a general way must not be exaggerated.

A great deal could be said with regard to the action of light on the development of chlorophyll, the production of starch, the direction of the growth of plants and their

movements, were we not more immediately concerned with the phenomena which occur in the animal economy. Béclard appears to have been the first to study, in 1858, the effects of radiations of various wave-lengths on the development of animals. The eggs of a fly (*Musca cararia*) were placed under variously-coloured glass bell-jars. On the fifth day it was found that the best-developed larvæ were in the blue and violet, and the least-developed in the green jars. Since then numerous experiments have been made by Schnetzler (frog embryos), by Yung (fish ova), by Finsen (salamanders), and by many others. Finsen found in his experiments with eggs and embryos of salamanders that blue light provokes movements, whereas red, yellow, and green rays are ineffectual. He also tested the reaction of earth-worms, earwigs, beetles, butterflies, and other animals, to various colours. The difference in the action of the chemical compared with the heat rays was very marked. Quite recently, Leredde and Pautrier, experimenting with tadpoles placed in two aquaria, one of red glass (allowing the passage of red rays) and the other of cobalt-blue glass (allowing the passage of the violet, indigo, and blue rays), found at the end of a month a great difference in the animals. The individuals in the red aquarium had preserved their tadpole caudal appendage, one specimen only out of three having also developed four respectable limbs and pulmonary respiration. On the other hand, the animals in the blue aquarium had only vestiges of their caudal appendages, the four limbs being developed and pulmonary respiration established. The two French observers also studied the activity of 'karyokinesis' (cell-division) in the embryo of *Trito cristatus*, and found it to be more marked in those individuals exposed to violet rays than in a red aquarium—a fact which had already been noted by Jokimovitch.

With regard to the influence of light—which more immediately concerns us in this place—the remarkable red colouring matter discovered in the retina by Boll in 1876 may be referred to. This retinal purple had escaped observation because it is decolourised by light. In the dark it remains unchanged after death, and can be studied in certain flames, such as that of sodium. It has been shown, according to Bohn, that light is necessary for the development of pigment in the *Beggiatoa* group (*Beggiatoa roseo-*

persicina) of coloured bacteria. The oscillatory motions which occur in them under the influence of light are due to a pigment, named Engelmann's purple, which converts the luminous radiations into chemical energy. The chemical energy is utilised in various ways by the living micro-organism. In this connexion, the view originally put forward by Giard, that pigment plays a part in the defence of the organism, may be mentioned. It is in this manner, too, that chlorophyll transforms the energy of the sun's rays into chemical energy, which in its turn is employed in the synthesis of starchy material as a result of the splitting up of carbonic acid. Engleemann's purple (*bacterio-purpurin*) also appears to have the power of breaking up carbonic acid and liberating the oxygen.

The experiments which have been made with the coloured Kiel bacillus, so-called on account of its having been first found in the potable waters of the city of Kiel, are also of interest in regard to our subject. If these bacilli are cultivated on slices of potato, a purple pigment is formed in about twenty-four hours, which disappears on exposure to light. Laurent carried out a series of experiments with cultures exposed to the action of light; for five hours (A cultures), three hours (B cultures), and one hour (C cultures). As a result, it was found that A were sterilised, but B and C still gave cultures comprising coloured and non-coloured colonies. In the case of B, the cultures became less and less coloured; but, from C, cultures were obtained which became more and more coloured. So far as B was concerned, light had, in a few hours, given rise to an uncoloured race of Kiel bacilli. This character was fixed in their case, the chromogenic property being lost. Apart from the colour, this race differed in no wise from the coloured bacilli.

The changes of colour which take place in the chameleon are well known. When exposed to light the skin becomes darker. This is due to special large mobile pigment-cells, 'chromatophores,' which come to the surface of the skin under the stimulus of light. Paul Bert found that the red rays have no effect, but that the blue and violet rays lead immediately to a darkening of the skin. Much work has already been done in the elucidation of the use of pigment. According to a view put forward by Finsen, the production of pigment in the

skin is a defensive and protective process on the part of the organism. The question of the adaptation to environment also arises ; and it has been asked if the pigment in the skin did not perhaps help to make use of the actinic rays in some way unknown at present.

So far as the human organism is concerned, we have, all unconsciously, attained to a knowledge of the manner in which light affects us. We know the discomfort of exposure to glaring lights and powerful solar rays, especially when the latter are reflected by large expanses of sea, sand, or snow ; and, on the other hand, the pleasant sensations associated with shady woods and green fields. It is needless to insist on the red and blistered state of the forearms which sometimes occurs after the first summer row on the river. The exposure of the face may lead to marked swelling and redness of the skin. On the Alps, again, sunburn and snow-blindness, caused by the reflection from the snow and ice, may give rise to very painful results. These effects Bowles and others have particularly studied ; and Abney has shown that the violet and ultra-violet rays are very strong at high altitudes. On the other hand, altitude alone does not explain sunburn ; for, as Bowles pointed out, one may remain unburnt on rocks, say at 10,000 feet, and yet become immediately affected on descending to a glacier 3000 or 4000 feet lower down.

In the course of experiments carried out to show the influence of the earth's atmosphere on the spectrum, Langley relates that the heat at the base of Mount Whitney, in the Sierra Nevada of California, where the observations were carried out, was almost unbearable. As the members of the expedition ascended Mount Whitney, which is 15,000 feet high, they found that the cooler it grew the more the sun burnt the skin, so much so that Professor Langley's face and hands began to look as if they had been seared with red-hot irons, and this although the thermometer had fallen to freezing-point at night. There was no snow about except in scattered patches, but the peaks are described as of grey granite ; and, as Bowles points out, this no doubt led to a modification and intensification of the reflected light-rays. Widmark, Travers, and other investigators have experimentally arrived at conclusions which confirm the view that the vital changes in the skin are due to the chemical rays and

apparently to the chemical rays alone. Travers has pointed out that, for a healthy condition of the retina and epidermis, it is necessary that the ratio between the intensities of the radiations in different parts of the spectrum should remain nearly constant. According to him, the injurious effects produced by light from incandescent gas or arc-lamps cannot be attributed to the presence of a greater intensity of ultra-violet or violet light than is present in sunlight, but are due to the absence of red radiation.

Enough has been said to bring out the fact that the organic world generally is affected by the metabolic action of sunlight, that is, the action which gives rise to the chemical changes in protoplasm. In a word, as Sir John Herschel put it, so far back as 1833, 'the sun's rays are the ultimate source of almost every motion which takes place on the surface of the earth.' At one time it was thought that the majority of *infusoria* and tissue-cells were not affected by light when the heat effects were excluded. The use of the electric arc-lights has shown, however, that such is not the case. Dreyer's numerous experiments with *infusoria* in Finsen's laboratory have demonstrated the fact that, with the light of an arc-light of 30 ampères and 49–50 volts, concentrated by means of Finsen's apparatus supplied with rock-crystal lenses, the movements of the organisms were activated by a short exposure. On the other hand, somewhat longer exposures led to contraction of the *infusoria*, which lasted for some time. Still longer exposures killed the organisms, which burst either before or after death. But there was a good deal of variation, some species dying after a short exposure only, others taking longer; this variation was independent of size and pigmentation. Other kinds again were peculiarly sensitive to certain rays, for instance the ultra-violet, whilst others were only influenced to a slight extent.

As Verworn remarks, the development of modern electrical technique has devised methods of producing electric sources of light of very great power, which surpasses sunlight in intensity, and which is not sufficiently described by the word 'dazzling.' Rather should the term 'destructive' or 'destructively luminous' be applied to it in view of its effects. Charcot was apparently the

first to call attention, in 1858, to the injurious effects of the arc-light. Two scientific chemists, soon after some experiments on fusion and vitrification, carried out with a battery composed of 120 Bunsen elements, developed redness accompanied by tension and discomfort of the parts exposed to the light. Charcot then put forward the hypothesis that the chemical rays were the cause of the symptoms. Since then, a number of similar observations have been recorded. Defontaine and Maklakow described the inflammatory condition of the skin following exposure to the electric arc-light employed to solder steel. French writers have named this cutaneous reaction '*le coup de soleil électrique.*' Bowles, in a paper on 'Sunburn on the Alps,' states that, when he discussed the subject with the late Professor Tyndall, the latter mentioned the fact that he was never more burnt on Alpine snows than he was whilst experimenting with the electric light at the North Foreland lighthouse. Finsen and his assistants, when they began their experiments in Copenhagen, employed an arc-lamp of 40,000 candle-power. They suffered in various ways from exposure to this intense source of light, as they did not at first perceive its activity.

The view put forward by Charcot in 1858 as to the part played by the actinic or chemical rays remained in the state of a mere hypothesis until the matter was again taken up in 1862 by Bouchard, who was then investigating the disease called pellagra, the *mal del sol*. His experiments confirmed Charcot's explanation, as did also the more recent work of Widmark in Sweden and Finsen in Denmark. The latter found, among other things, that the heat-rays have an immediate effect on the skin, whereas the reaction to the chemical rays is delayed, the redness and pain about the parts exposed manifesting themselves only after a certain interval. This has been confirmed by direct microscopical examination of living portions of skin removed from the arms of the experimenters themselves and suitably stained by means of dyes in order to bring out the appearances of the cells and structures, for comparison with what is observed in normal tissues.

Finsen found also that portions of the exposed skin protected by glass undergo no change, whereas those covered with rock-crystal are affected in the same way as the non-protected parts. This led Finsen to substitute rock-crystal lenses for glass, both for purposes of experi-

ment and treatment. Unfortunately, rock-crystal lenses are expensive and of small dimensions, the latter being a matter of some moment where large areas of diseased tissues have to be dealt with. Another result arrived at by Finsen, who worked with an arc-light going at 80 ampères, was that such a source of light gives rise to more marked cutaneous reaction than strong sunlight. This was also an important point in connexion with the therapeutical application. From the foregoing remarks it will be readily seen that light acts on the skin by means of its chemical or actinic rays.

The investigations concerning the effects of light led Finsen to propose a new method of treating small-pox. He recommended that the chemical rays should be excluded by interposing red glass or thick red cloth between the patient and the sunlight. This light-treatment or 'Phototherapy' may be termed negative as compared with the positive method employed in another disease, viz. Lupus vulgaris, which will be considered later, and in which the actinic radiations are purposely employed to the exclusion of the heat-rays.

Pictor in 1832, Black, Barlow, and Walters in 1867 and 1871, called attention to the bad effects of light on the course of small-pox. Hence the treatment of the disease by the exclusion of light. But long before this, in medieval times, red surroundings were employed in the treatment of small-pox. Our own John of Gaddesden (1280?–1361), who wrote a medico-chirurgical treatise which enjoyed a great vogue, the so-called '*Rosa Anglicana*', maintained that he had cured the king's son, probably Thomas of Brotherton, a son of Edward I,* by employing red wrappings and hangings about the bed when the prince was suffering from the disease.†

* So says Dr Norman Moore in the 'Dict. of Nat. Biography,' s.v. Gaddesden. Gaddesden (Gatesden) is mentioned in the 'Canterbury Tales,' and it is possible he was the contemporary from whom Chaucer drew his Doctor of Physic. On the other hand, Dr George Gregory, in his 'Lectures on the Eruptive Fevers' (1843), p. 78, states that the prince of the blood royal of England referred to by Gaddesden was John, the son of Edward II.

† 'Capiatur ergo scarletum rubrum, et qui patitur variolas involvatur in illo totaliter vel in alio panno rubro; sicut ego feci, quando incoliti Regis Angliae filius variolas patiebatur. Curavi ut omnia circa lectum essent rubra, et curatio illa mihi optime successit; nam citra vestigia variolarum, sanitati restitutus est.'—'Joannis Anglici Praxis Medica,' etc., 1595, vol. II. I am indebted to Dr J. F. Payne for the loan of this work.

This method of treatment was apparently kept up till recent times, for it is stated that in the eighteenth century Fouquet of Montpelier, in his childhood, had seen patients suffering from small-pox wrapped up in scarlet cloth or kept in beds with red hangings. In Roumania, according to Capitanovitz, it is an old practice among the people to cover the face and body of small-pox patients with red cloth, the idea being that the red colour draws the eruption to the surface, and that complications due, as they think, to an undeveloped rash do not occur. This idea was probably at the bottom of the use of red hangings in small-pox in the Middle Ages. Lassabatie, a French naval surgeon who practised in Tonkin, observed that cases of small-pox among the natives were carefully isolated, almost hermetically boxed up, as it were, and surrounded by numerous red hangings. The custom is no doubt of great antiquity among the Tonkinese, but it is employed in other diseases beside small-pox. A similar practice is stated to obtain in Japan.

Finsen, relying on the results of his researches and those of others, emphasised, in his treatment of small-pox, the importance of absolutely excluding the red rays. The sunlight must be filtered through some red material —paper, flannel, or glass. The last-named is the most convenient, and, it may be added, the most hygienic. The glass must be of a very dark red colour; and artificial lights used in the sick-room must be covered by globes of the same hue. In short, the small-pox patient must be protected from the chemical rays as carefully as a photographic plate. It is important to commence the treatment as soon as possible after the appearance of the rash, and to continue it strictly until the vesicles have dried up. Under it, Finsen maintained, suppuration will generally not occur; and no scars, or but faint ones, will remain.

His paper on the chemical rays and small-pox was published in 1893, and led to the employment of the so-called red-light treatment in various parts of Europe. Favourable results were reported from Scandinavian countries, also from Dublin and Paris. On the other hand, the method was criticised by some observers, who had not found it come up to expectations. Juhel-Renoy, for instance, believed that the good results attributed

to the exclusion of the chemical rays only occur in discrete cases, which do as well by any other method of treatment. Péronnet, in a Paris thesis, pointed out that Juhel-Renoy's observations as to the negative results in bad cases of small-pox were due to the fact that the details of the treatment were not carried out on the lines laid down by Finsen. More recently, however, in an epidemic of *variola* which prevailed in Lyons, Courmont and Bayle convinced themselves that the light-treatment, carefully carried out, is inoperative. Four women were treated in this way, but in all four suppuration occurred.

An interesting fact was brought out in these Lyons experiments, viz. that the red-light treatment was extremely trying both to patients and nurses. The former were in a state of constant excitement and begged hard to be placed in ordinary daylight. The nurses had to be supplied with blue spectacles to induce them to remain on duty. Mental excitability, at times very marked, has also been observed among the workmen employed in the red rooms of the photographic firm of Lumière of Lyons. This has been got over by substituting green for red light; and it has been suggested that the former colour might be used in preference to the latter for the treatment of small-pox patients. Oleinikoff's investigations, in the case of nine small-pox patients, have confirmed the drawbacks of red light. Some of his cases developed terrifying hallucinations and became delirious. But here the question arises as to red light being the cause. Might not such symptoms as mental excitability, hallucinations, and so forth have occurred in any case? Oleinikoff admits, however, that the results in regard to scarring were good; and he considers that the light-treatment does away with the severe itching of the small-pox eruption in certain stages. On the whole it may be said that the exclusion of the chemical rays is beneficial in small-pox cases taken at an early stage of the disease, when the treatment is carried out according to Finsen's rules.

Four years after the publication of his first paper, Finsen returned to the light-treatment of *variola*, and admitted that perhaps it might be found in practice that a lighter red might be substituted for the dark red colour of curtains and window-panes on which he had at first insisted. The former would be more agreeable to the

patients and to those in charge, although the results might not prove to be so striking. When his original plan had been rigorously carried out, secondary fever had apparently to a great extent been avoided. But Finsen was ready to concede that a slight elevation of temperature would be preferable to a darkness too absolute. He considered the shade of red employed should be sufficient to avoid suppuration. This could only be determined by a series of comparative experiments.

In this country, some recent attempts by Ricketts and Byles to treat cases of small-pox by means of red light were unfavourably reported on; and the method was considered to be ineffective. A few weeks before his death Finsen wrote a short note in reply to these criticisms. He pointed out that it was well known that the red-light treatment of small-pox was based on the fact that the small-pox infection places the skin in a state of great sensitiveness to light. He went on to say:—

'Furthermore, the recent researches on the phenomena of fluorescence and sensibilisation seem to supply important contributions to the explanation of this remarkable fact. In small-pox the infection, as is well known, produces a more or less strong exanthem all over the body. If now the patient, during the period of the appearance and the growth of the exanthem, is protected against daylight—especially against the chemical rays—by means of a red-light treatment, the exanthem will be less strong than otherwise; and, as a rule, no suppuration will occur. If, on the contrary, the patient is allowed to remain lying in bright daylight, suppuration will often occur, light acting as a 'plus,' which increases the already existing inflammation of the skin. It is impossible, of course, to give any absolute rule, as there are many degrees of small-pox exanthemata. In many cases no suppuration occurs, although light is not shut out.'

'It will thus be seen that the shutting-out of light acts differently in different cases according to the extension and force of the exanthem. Now, experience shows that, if a patient is placed in red light or in darkness immediately after the first appearance of the exanthem, no suppuration will, as a rule, occur, even in unvaccinated cases or in cases with confluent exanthem. But, if the patient is put under treatment later, the result will be more doubtful. It will depend, of course, on the strength of the exanthem and on the length of time light has been allowed to exercise its irritating action.'

Experience shows, further, that even a relatively short exposure to light, especially if the exanthem is fully developed, suffices for the production of suppuration. Pursuant to these facts, the following two conditions are indispensable in order to obtain good results from the red-light treatment: (1) an early treatment of the patient, and (2) an entire exclusion of hurtful rays of light. With regard to the time when the treatment should begin, I wrote as follows in 1895: "When the patients come under treatment early enough—before the fourth or fifth day of the disease—suppuration of the vesicles will be avoided"; and "Should the patient come under treatment after the fifth day of the disease, it is uncertain whether the suppuration can be avoided; sometimes this is the case, sometimes not" ('Lancet,' 1904, vol. ii, p. 1272).

So much for negative Phototherapy. A subject of much greater importance, however, is the use of the active chemical rays of the spectrum in the treatment of disease, and mainly of *Lupus vulgaris*, usually spoken of as *Lupus* simply. The practical application of light in such cases is undoubtedly due to the investigations and untiring efforts of Finsen.

Attention has already been called in this article to light as a stimulant; and various observations and experiments have been referred to in this connexion. This was the starting-point of Finsen's application of light to the cure of certain disorders of the skin. Electric-light baths were much in fashion recently, but it is necessary to point out that they are merely diaphoretic in their action; i.e. they are heat-baths, not strictly light-baths, for the incandescent lamps give off scarcely any chemical rays. It has been shown in the foregoing pages that it is the chemical rays which possess the bactericidal and stimulating properties. To apply the term light-baths, therefore, to the ordinary electric incandescent lamps, which give rise to sweating, is misleading. Finsen insisted on the importance of avoiding sweating in the application of light as a therapeutic agent acting through its actinic rays. He used either sunlight or the arc-light. In the former case the patients walk about naked in a courtyard, the temperature being kept low by sprinkling water about, or by means of douches, in order to prevent sweating. In the case of the arc-lights, two powerful sources of light, of 100 ampères each, are

employed. These are suspended about six feet from the floor, the patients lying naked on couches in cubicles which radiate from the centre of the room. So cold is the room that artificial heat has to be used to prevent chill. In some individuals there is well-marked redness after an exposure of ten minutes, whereas in others only slight reddening, or none at all, occurs after some hours. These light-baths excite a pleasant sensation of slight tingling or heat in the skin. Finsen published these remarks (1899) to call attention to the difference between electric-light baths, which are merely heat-baths, and the true light-bath exerting a chemical action on the skin.

It should be mentioned in this connexion that it has been shown by Jensen that the rays which act most markedly on micro-organisms and animal tissues, viz., the chemical blue, violet, and ultra-violet, are not good penetrators of the skin. On the other hand, as Busck has demonstrated, the rays which do not act to any extent on micro-organisms and animal tissues, that is, the red, yellow, and yellow-green, have a much greater power of skin-penetration. That the actinic rays are bactericidal *in vitro*, i.e. in the case of cultures on artificial media, is undoubtedly; but whether these rays act in the same way on the diseased tissues of the skin is quite another matter. The fact is that, in the latter case, the results obtained depend on an inflammatory reaction rather than on the destruction of the bacilli.

Tentative efforts had been made to use light in the treatment of Lupus before Finsen. Thayer had concentrated sunlight by means of a biconvex lens, by a process well known to schoolboys, but in his case he appears to have depended mainly on the heat-effects of the sun's rays. Otterbein records that a similar attempt to cure Lupus had been made by a layman. Lahmann went a step farther, for he treated two cases of Lupus with an arc-light of 12 ampères, placed at the focus of a parabolic mirror. In this way the rays were made parallel. The daily exposures were at first ten minutes, then half an hour. The action of the light was manifestly too weak. Gebhart had also tried the combined chemical and heat rays in various skin affections.

These efforts, however, achieved little, and they cannot be considered as having influenced Finsen, for some

of them were made during the time he was elaborating and perfecting his method of positive Phototherapy. The credit belongs entirely to Finsen, for he saw the practical possibility of applying the actinic rays in cases of Lupus. He showed too, what is very important, that it is necessary to drive the blood out of the diseased skin areas by pressure, as haemoglobin absorbs the blue and violet rays. This he proved by placing a piece of silver chloride photographic paper on one side of the ear and allowing the concentrated solar rays to fall on the other. There was no reaction on the sensitive film after five minutes, and but a feeble reaction at the end of ten. But a quite different result was obtained when the ear was rendered bloodless by compression between two plates of glass. It was then found that after an exposure of twenty seconds the paper turned black. The blood in the skin acts as a barrier against the penetration of the actinic rays, a fact which accords with the haemoglobin spectrum.

Before devising and improving his apparatus, Finsen ascertained by a number of experiments that the bactericidal action of light was increased by the concentration of the rays. He employed the method which Buchner had used to investigate the influence of light on bacteria. Layers of a suitable medium for the growth of microbes, such as gelatine-peptone, contained in flat, rectangular bottles, were inoculated with pure cultures of various bacteria, *Bacillus prodigiosus*, *Bacillus typhosus*, *Bacillus anthracis*. On the outside of each bottle was gummed a piece of paper, white on one side and black on the other. The former was placed outwards to avoid the absorption of heat-rays, the black surface being applied to the glass to prevent the light influencing the bacterial growth. Circular areas were cut out of the paper; and the number of minutes during which the bottles were to be exposed to the action of light was inscribed in Indian ink on the glass itself. One or two hours after inoculation the flasks were exposed, some to direct, others to concentrated sunlight, and then placed in the dark. The numbers showing the times of exposure were seen to be reproduced on the inoculated layers by the colonies of bacilli which had developed under the shelter of the parts coloured by the ink. Thus Finsen was able to

show that concentrated sunlight destroys microbes fifteen times more quickly than ordinary sunlight; and that the arc-light is more destructive still.

The apparatus devised by Finsen for the practical application of his method was ingenious. In its construction two points had to be borne in mind, viz. the concentration of the light-rays and the exclusion of the heat-rays, the aim being to get the actinic effect. When sunlight is to be used, the apparatus consists of a hollow plano-convex lens, from 8 to 16 inches in diameter, filled with an ammoniacal solution of sulphate of copper, which stops the heat-rays but allows the chemical rays to pass through. The lens is mounted on a metallic support, which allows of the lens being moved in both the vertical and horizontal axes, and raised and lowered as required. Sunlight is the best and cheapest source of light; but it is not always available, especially in northern latitudes, so Finsen was led to employ the voltaic arc; incandescent electric lamps, as already stated, are poor in the chemical rays that are required for positive Phototherapy. But the rays of the electric arc-light are divergent, whereas the rays of the sun are parallel. It was necessary, therefore, in the case of the arc-light, to devise special apparatus for concentrating the rays. This Finsen did by means of a telescope-like instrument furnished at one end with two plano-convex lenses, placed one behind the other, with the plane surfaces turned towards an arc-light of 50 to 80 ampères. The rays are thus rendered parallel. Beyond these lenses there is a space of 20 to 30 centimetres in length, limited by two more plano-convex lenses, with their plane surfaces facing each other, and between them again a space filled with distilled water. For the lenses, rock-crystal is now used. The heat-rays are disposed of by exerting the required pressure over the diseased areas by means of a double rock-crystal case or compressor through which water is allowed to stream. The compressors vary in form and dimension in order to deal with disease in different situations.

Finsen treated a variety of morbid skin conditions by means of his method of concentrated chemical rays; but it was in *Lupus vulgaris* that he obtained the good results which have made him known throughout the world. The procedure of Finsen in the early stages of his application

of the chemical rays to Lupus was to expose a small part of the diseased skin, the areas dealt with varying from a quarter of an inch to an inch at a time, for at least two hours daily. This has now been reduced to sittings of an hour's duration. When one small area appears to be sufficiently treated a further small portion is dealt with, and so on from area to area until the entire Lupus patch has been treated. The patient is kept under observation, and any suspicious spots or recurrences are subjected to further light-treatment. It is of great importance that the case should be followed up. Early recognition and treatment are also very important. The smaller the area of disease, the better the prospect. In many cases the disease is allowed to spread without anything being done until large areas of the skin are affected. *Principiis obsta* is a principle which is especially applicable here.

Although the ultimate results are often good, there are several drawbacks in the method of treatment which has just been described. In the first place, the apparatus is expensive ; then there is the installation ; further, the current required to run the powerful arc-lights is an item which must be considered. Each patient requires a separate nurse. Moreover, as Finsen himself admitted, the treatment is slow. Where a large area of disease has to be treated, the regular attendance of a patient for many months, or even for years, is a serious consideration. Lupus is not a disease of the rich, but generally attacks those who have to earn their livelihood by their labour, and are therefore ill able to afford the time required, to say nothing of the expense. Indeed, so far as the latter is concerned, payment is often an impossibility. Much depends on the size and situation of the Lupus patch and the reaction of the individual's tissues to the chemical rays. In some cases the disease is superficial ; in others it may be situated deeply and offer great resistance to this form of treatment. Some forms of Lupus defy all methods, that of Finsen included.

Since the advent of Phototherapy, there has been a tendency to imagine that before it there were no methods of treatment for Lupus. This is a mistake, for some of the pre-light-treatment methods gave, and continue to give, good results. Far from being shelved, the older methods must be taken into account when dealing with

Lupus. Here, as in other diseases, the case requires to be judged on its merits. Such procedures as excision, scarification, and so forth, may be employed preferably to the light-treatment in suitable cases. With scarification, for instance, excellent results may sometimes be obtained. Where hospital patients are concerned, this can be carried out by attendance once a week or once a fortnight. In the case of poor people in employment, this may mean everything in the economic struggle for existence. When the disease affects cavities such as those of the nose and mouth, the Finsen method becomes inapplicable. So far as pain is concerned, the Finsen method has the advantage; though, even in other treatments, the pain can be minimised or even excluded altogether.

The expensiveness of the Finsen installation has led to attempts to devise appliances at a lower cost. The ingeniously contrived lamp of Lortet and Genoud, of the University of Lyons, should be mentioned first. The principle of it is an arc-light which is brought close to a hollowed lens apparatus, through which a cooling stream of water flows. The patient presses the diseased part directly against the face of the lens, in this way driving out the blood from the tissues—a point which has already been shown to be one of primary importance in successful treatment. This lamp is cheap, easily arranged and installed; the drawback is that the rays emanating from the carbons are not gathered up again and brought to a focus, as in the case of the Finsen system of lenses already described. By a further modification Finsen and Reyn have recently got over this difficulty. This the Danish observers have achieved by adapting the Finsen system of lenses to the Lortet-Genoud apparatus. In this way the rays are gathered together again and concentrated on the area to be treated. At first it was claimed for the Lortet-Genoud lamp that the sittings could be shortened to a quarter of an hour instead of the hour necessary with the Finsen apparatus. It has been found, however, that prolonged exposures are necessary; although, with the shorter sittings, good results have been obtained in circumscribed cases of the disease.

Other lamps have been devised in England, France, Germany, and Denmark, since the Lortet-Genoud apparatus came out, but they need not detain us. The

substitution of iron for the carbon electrode, by Bang of Copenhagen, has not proved a success, the action being too superficial. Such instruments, devised to give a maximum of actinic (ultra-violet) rays, which were theoretically expected to give in very short exposures the same results as those obtained by Finsen with his apparatus, have not produced these results in practice.

A further step forward was attempted by means of sensitising substances injected into the skin. This was preceded by experiments whose object was to sensitise micro-organisms and animal tissues. Just as, in photography, sensitisers (chemical agents or baths) are used, by which films are rendered sensitive to light, so it was found in photo-biology that certain substances act in a similar way in the case of micro-organisms and animal tissues. In this connexion the earlier experiments of Danielsohn with *infusoria* (1899) must be touched upon. This observer found that some of the acridin compounds were more poisonous to *Paramecia* in ordinary daylight than in the dark. This was confirmed by Ullmann, who used the unconcentrated arc-light instead of daylight. Jacobson, experimenting with the ciliated epithelial cells of the gullet of the frog, found the motion of the cilia, bathed in various poisonous fluorescent solutions, cease sooner in the light than in the dark. Again, Raab investigated the action on *Paramecia* of a number of fluorescent bodies, such as acridin, quinine, and eosin, and confirmed what the other observers had found; but he proved further that there was no increased toxicity of the substances employed when exposed to light. This, however, has been denied by Ledoux-Lebard, who showed that an eosin solution exposed to light before the *Paramecia* were added to it, in the dark, was more rapidly fatal to the organisms than a solution not so previously exposed. Raab injected eosin into mice, and observed that, after one to two days' exposure to sunlight, necrosis of the ears occurred. These experiments are interesting also from the point of view of the pellagra disease.

Experiments have also been made with enzymes, that is, ferments such as diastase, trypsin, and so forth. It has been found that such enzyme-solutions mixed with minute quantities (0·01-0·05 per cent.) of fluorescent substances and exposed to diffuse daylight, lose their

power of acting on starch, cane-sugar, etc. These results led to an investigation of the action of fluorescent substances, plus light, on toxins, such as those of diphtheria and tetanus. With regard to the former toxin, it was found that, after mixture with eosin and exposure to light, it becomes innocuous to animals. Further, Jodlbauer discovered that diphtheria toxin, injected twelve days after such mixture, is as a rule without effect, the original toxin treated by eosin and light appearing to protect the organism and to act like an antitoxin. Whether this holds out any hope of treating diphtheria by means of fluorescent substances, as suggested by Tappeiner, in whose laboratory the foregoing experiments were carried out, is not yet clear. Tappeiner also suggests that methylene blue, which has been used in the treatment of malaria, might give better results if exposure to light followed its administration; and he refers to the action of such fluorescent substances as quinine, phosphine, etc., on the malaria parasite.

The line of investigation as to sensitisation was continued by Dreyer in the Finsen Lysinstitut. In his experiments with *infusoria* he made use of a *Nassula*, as being more resistant to injuries of various kinds than *Paramecia*. Various sensitising bodies were employed, but in such weak solutions as to preclude a toxic effect on the organisms; at any rate such toxic effects were not observed. Dreyer found that erythrosin (tetraiod-fluorescin sodium) was the best sensitiser. He employed the light of an arc-lamp concentrated by means of Finsen's system of lenses. As a result of experiments with bacteria, the tissues of frogs and rabbits, and so forth, the following conclusions were arrived at. Fluorescence is not the decisive factor in sensitisation, for marked fluorescent substances, such as aesculin and fluorescin, are not good sensitisers, whereas cyanin, which is not fluorescent, is a good sensitiser. Nor does absorption appear to play a preponderating part. As to increased toxicity of the substances employed by exposure to light, Dreyer found, contrary to the results obtained by Raab, that erythrosin, after exposure to light, exhibited a diminution of sensitising power. The main conclusion arrived at was that certain substances employed as sensitisers render micro-organisms and animal tissues more sensitive to the non-

active but relatively strongly penetrative yellow and yellow-green rays, as compared with the active but slightly penetrative actinic rays. The practical application of sensitisers in the light-treatment of diseases of the skin has hitherto proved disappointing; but further work in this direction may perhaps lead to better results in the future. The injection of erythrosin into the living skin, as a preliminary to light-treatment, has led to marked reaction and pain, even with feeble solutions.

In the foregoing remarks an attempt has been made to give an account of light and its effects, and to trace the steps which have led up to the treatment of disease by the rays either of the sun or of the arc-light. A few years ago a sensational daily newspaper, carried away by its wonted exuberance and spirit of exaggeration, proclaimed that the light-method would banish Lupus from the kingdom of Denmark, and eventually eradicate it all over the world. Such a consummation is much to be desired; but its attainment lies, not in cure, but in prevention. The bacillus of *Lupus vulgaris* and that of consumption are identical. The prevention of Lupus is therefore intimately connected with that of Tuberculosis generally. With the diffusion of knowledge as regards the infectious diseases, and the improvement of social conditions among the masses, it is to be hoped that Lupus will become more and more uncommon. In any case, the credit of having, in a truly scientific way, devised the means of practically applying light as a method of treatment belongs to Finsen; and, whatever the future may have in store as regards the struggle with this obstinate and disfiguring form of disease, his name can never be omitted from the roll of those who have done good work on behalf of suffering humanity.

GEORGE PERNET.

Art. VIII.—HAZLITT AND LAMB.

1. *The Collected Works of William Hazlitt.* Edited by A. R. Waller and Arnold Glover. Twelve vols. London: Dent, 1902-4.
2. *The Works of Charles and Mary Lamb.* Edited by E. V. Lucas. Seven vols. London: Methuen, 1903-5.
3. *The Life of Charles Lamb.* By E. V. Lucas. Two vols. London: Methuen, 1905.

HUMANITY is not the same thing as humane letters, though usage, ancient and modern, has often chosen to identify them. Hazlitt and Lamb took the same interest in letters, but their interest in humanity was widely different. To overlook this fact is to miss the explanation of Lamb's secure niche in the temple of fame and Hazlitt's late and grudging recognition. About Hazlitt's genius, about his intense belief in letters, about his saying things on almost every subject under the sun 'as only the man of letters says them,' there is no manner of doubt. Literary experts have been unanimous on this point for the best part of a century; and we have only to open at random any one of the twelve volumes before us to confirm this verdict. Yet the fact remains that he has never had the vogue that has been secured by men much his inferiors, to say nothing of Lamb.

That Hazlitt was intensely disliked by most of his contemporaries is beyond question, as also that he had the greatest difficulty in keeping his friends. He humorously compared his own talk to a game of ninepins, and certainly had a glee anything but holy in demolishing opponents. His political animus was of the bitterest. When a man deals as largely in contempt as Hazlitt did, we cannot be surprised at any and every form of retaliation. His opinions were his most precious possessions; and, where they were concerned, he would give no quarter to friends or foes. Lamb was his most loyal admirer; but Lamb, who never hated a man he had seen, could not understand this malevolence, this indifference to humanity. It produced a legacy of ill-will which has dogged Hazlitt's name ever since. Other things may be pardoned; but to set yourself against humanity is to set the human race against you.

When we read the story of some old gentleman, a few years ago, running after a Blue-coat boy to give him a crown-piece, and saying, 'That's for Charles Lamb,' or of the little girl (a daughter of one of Lamb's acquaintances) stopping strangers in the street to tell them 'that Mr Lamb was coming to see her,' we know why the world is still so full of Lamb's personality and so empty of Hazlitt's, and why sympathy is an author's best policy, even if nothing else could be said for it.

It is nearly seventy years since Bulwer Lytton said of Hazlitt, 'A complete edition of his works is all the monument he demands'; and that monument is now before us. Stray papers may have escaped the editors; they have wisely and deliberately declined to reprint 'The Life of Napoleon'; but it is unlikely that their pious diligence will be emulated or challenged for another century. Hazlitt was never known to the many, nor even to the few, as he deserves to be; but, with a real 'library edition' of him, his fame should grow. How well he has earned this monument the late W. E. Henley has told us in a characteristic introduction; and, whether we find ourselves in absolute agreement with it or not, no one will deny that it is a tribute to a great man of letters by a true brother of the craft.

The tenth volume of this edition is of special interest, as it contains Hazlitt's articles in the 'Edinburgh Review,' and in particular that paper on the novelists which he used again in one of his best books, most inadequately described by its title, 'Lectures on the English Comic Writers.' The original form of the article was a notice of Madame d'Arblay's 'Wanderer'; and it is an exciting discovery to find that Hazlitt, if nobody else, had read that much despised work. In the same volume there is printed (in an appendix) a savage review of 'Christabel' and 'Kubla Khan,' which one might boldly refuse to call Hazlitt's were it not that the editors, apparently only half convinced, quote high authority for ascribing it to him. Hazlitt has, in several other cases, given varying judgments of the same person; but there is a vulgar violence in this review which is at least rare with him.

An editor of Lamb's letters is denied those solacing reflections which may reasonably reward the editors of Hazlitt. There can be no finality about an edition of

Lamb for many years ; that is, till the law of copyright has spent its malice on the 'Letters.' Even then other editors may find, as Mr Lucas did, that the New World grudges the Old such *fragmenta aurea* as it possesses. Meantime, however, Mr Lucas' industry has secured various things besides letters to enrich a new edition, a review of Keats' 'St Agnes' Eve' being of the number. This last is all but authenticated as Lamb's ; and, if so, Lamb's generous praise is no small proof of his sympathy with the Romantic movement. Hazlitt, too, praises Keats, though the praise is fainter, and the desire to disparage Shelley by comparison may have had something to do with it. One would be glad to think that their supposed indifference to some of their great contemporaries has been overrated, even if their depreciation of Byron and Shelley admits of no denial.

One of Mr Lucas' interesting discoveries is a paper on 'Readers against the Grain,' a delightful piece of edification which is even more 'a sermon for the times' to-day than when it was written. Two of the slighter papers are social sketches, 'Tom Pry' and 'Tom Pry's Wife.' The first has something of Lamb's true manner ; but the second is unworthy of him, and it does not make it more tolerable to learn that Mrs Godwin sat unconsciously for the picture. It has something of the tone of what is now called the new humour ; but nowhere else has Lamb ever descended to such a tone, and he is doubtless repenting of it in the shades. Another paper illustrates afresh Lamb's partiality for 'Richard the Third,' and his noble protests against the misconceptions of actors ; and a fourth, a 'Memoir of Robert Lloyd,' exhibits all Lamb's affectionate insight and subtle tenderness.

Of the new letters, an early one to Coleridge deserves special mention, for in it Cowper's 'Royal George' gets an uncommon tribute : 'I did not know Cowper was up to that.' Lamb always had a high opinion of Cowper ; he even liked his Homer. But he knew that the 'Royal George' was not an achievement merely, but an inspiration ; and his startled recognition conveys to us all that the best critics, notably Sir Leslie Stephen, have said of it since.

Lamb's proposal of marriage to Miss Kelly, the lady of whose acting he wrote so beautifully and sympatheti-

cally—‘What a lass to go a-gipseying thro’ the world with !’—is now, what it never was before, an established fact ; and the occasion produced two noble letters, Lamb’s punning resignation to the inevitable being a characteristic feature. The lady whose acting deserved this sentence must have been a wonder to behold.

‘Her’s is the joy of a freed spirit escaping from care like a bird that had been limed. Her smiles, if I may use the expression, seem saved out of the fire, relies which a good spirit had snatched up as most portable; her discontents are visitors, and not inmates. She can lay them by altogether, and, when she does, I am not sure that she is not greatest.’

The ‘Memoir of Robert Lloyd’ has a sentence with the same delicate balance in it, as satisfying to the ear as to the heart.

‘He oftentimes let fall in his familiar letters bright and original illustrations of feeling, which might have been mistaken for genius if his own watchful modest spirit had not constantly interposed to recall and substitute for them some of the ordinary forms of observation which lay less out of that circle of common sympathy within which his kind nature delighted to move.’

As one reads a sentence like this, one easily understands Thackeray’s reverence, and why he was moved to speak of him as ‘Saint Charles.’

Every one must be grateful to Mr Lucas for letting us see and hear so much of Mary Lamb, and helping us to understand better than ever that extraordinary friendship—for friendship it must be called—between brother and sister, a friendship less common than other friendships, but not less capable of emulating ‘Damon and Pythias, Orestes and Pylades, and the other heroical examples.’ It is not all a matter of piety, nor of intellect, nor of ‘that custom sweet of living side by side.’ It is rather the old Sallustian ideal—in great things, not in small—‘*Idem velle atque nolle, ea demum firma amicitia.*’

Mary Lamb’s wit and wisdom were quite equal to her affection, as is proved by the testimony, not only of her brother and his friends, but of her own letters. ‘I think of him and his sister every day of my life,’ writes Dorothy Wordsworth; and Coleridge’s words about them are too

familiar to quote. If Landor's praise—'the finest genius that ever descended on the heart of woman'—seems extravagant, Wordsworth's tribute is sufficiently arresting: 'Were I to give my own feelings, I should dwell not only on her genius and intellectual powers, but upon the delicacy and refinement of manner which she retained inviolable under most trying circumstances.'

It is at least evident that she was not early 'tumbled into' Samuel Salt's library for nothing. Her fondness for pictures was at least as great as her fondness for books; and the letter which records her visit to Cambridge is as humane and humorous a piece of enthusiasm as ever was written. She 'liked all the colleges best—the little gloomy ones because they were little gloomy ones.' She wishes her correspondent had heard 'Charles talk his nonsense' (about an earlier visit to Cambridge), 'and how he then first felt himself "commencing gentleman," and had eggs for his breakfast.' The skill and sympathy with which she studied Charles' humours were admirable; but it did not forbid entertainment at his expense, as this sentence from another letter shows: 'This is no particular day—not a birthday, nor a give-up-smoking day!' Even the length of the letter gives occasion to her humour. She copies it for a second correspondent to save herself trouble; and a friend (she says) tells her it recalls a first love-letter, which her husband had since admitted was a copy of one used on a previous occasion.

If it is necessary to speak of her graver moods, what she wrote of Coleridge's absence at the time of the Wordsworths' trouble, and the tender hand she laid on that trouble, are moving examples of all she stood for to her brother's famous friends. The little couplet in her poem with its seventeenth century rhythm—

‘Ever this lost brother John
Will be their heart’s companion’—

is enough to show how well she could strike the only note that should be struck at such times.

It has been carelessly said in reminiscences that Lamb undervalued Coleridge's poetry, and that he did not greatly care for 'Christabel.' It is hardly worth while to take these things seriously, or to remind such writers that he did actually hoax the young De Quincey into

thinking that he despised 'The Ancient Mariner'; but, if it were, Mary's quoting 'The one red leaf, the last of its clan' would have some value as rebutting evidence in the case of 'Christabel.' So too Mary, 'trying to think Richmond as good as the Lakes,' shows us that there is only malice prepense in her brother's letter to Wordsworth: 'Vinny Bourne's town scenes are a proper counterpart to some people's rural extravagances.'

Mr Lucas has laid us under obligation, not only by the amount of his new matter, but by the notes in which Lamb's allusiveness is helpfully interpreted. He has also done his best to render his collection of letters complete as a series by telling us where those letters should come which he is not allowed to reprint. One is also grateful for the full text of poems and passages to which reference is made. One instance must suffice. So little do we hear of Talfourd as a writer nowadays that it is of exceptional interest to see how good the criticism is which Lamb commended. The passage was on Munden's acting, and might stand beside one of Lamb's own criticisms on acting—this sentence for instance:—

'He seems as tho' he belonged to the earliest and the stillest age of Comedy, when, instead of superficial foibles and the airy varieties of fashion, she had the grand asperities of man to work on, when her grotesque images had something romantic about them, and when humour and parody were themselves heroic.'

There are, however, a few unwelcome surprises in Mr Lucas' notes. To begin with, is it decorous in a library edition to have every Latin word translated? There is at least a grave indecorum about such notes as these: 'villatic fowl—the fowl of the village.' 'The phrase *diem perdit* (*sic*); the Corderius which a Corydon could scarcely construe was probably drawn by Lamb from the "Eclogues" of Virgil.' One conjectures 'The Corydon who could scarcely construe his Corderius.' But, even so, need Lamb have gone to the 'Eclogues' for Corydon? Almost any page of 'elegant extracts' might unearth him. And what are we to say to the comment on 'Sunt lacrimæ rerum'? 'This line is diversely rendered' (this is news, surely), '"tears for human life," or, "here objects have sympathy for us." Tennyson, of course,

inclined to the wider rendering when he wrote his ode on "Virgil": "The sense of tears in mortal things." There is nothing like it in Tennyson's 'Virgil.' The line is to be found in Matthew Arnold's 'Geist's Grave.' There may be 'much virtue in an if'; but in an 'of course' there are what Thucydides calls 'self-chosen dangers.'

There is a natural propriety in linking the names of Lamb and Hazlitt. Hazlitt's frequent references to Lamb in his essays show that he thought of him as not only a friend but a literary comrade, one whose point of view, whose literary principles, had more correspondence with his own than had those of any of his contemporaries; and Lamb's praise of Hazlitt—"one of the finest and wisest spirits breathing; worth all modern prose-writers put together"—is so memorable, and has such an accent of sincerity and sympathy, that we feel that, on his side also, principles were concerned. Lamb's mind and heart were never widely separated in his judgments; and we can hardly be wrong in thinking that 'the something tough in his attachment' was partly due to the consciousness that both were champions of true letters. In spite of some warping prejudices, literary and political, they knew themselves to have that salt of criticism which their contemporaries for the most part lacked—the sanity of genius.

But, whatever they thought of one another, the history of criticism has no choice but to link them. That felicitous mixture of sanity and enthusiasm which enabled them to be pioneers of the new century, and to hand on the torch of the old, at one and the same time, gives them a place by themselves. Mr Henley, indeed, says that 'the elder glories of our blood and state' were the only things Hazlitt could keep in the 'kingdom of his mind'; and he reserves his highest raptures for them; but we must also look to what he did.

Professor Bradley, in his Oxford lectures, has recently illustrated, with eloquent emphasis, the connexion between Shakespearean criticism and the Romantic movement, and shown us what a new thing in literature the work of 'the great trio' (Coleridge, Lamb, and Hazlitt) was. Coleridge, indeed, did not hesitate to say that Hazlitt stole from Lamb; and Lamb himself seems, with

humorous exaggeration, to hint at some indebtedness other than pecuniary in the sentence—‘a gentleman of no estate, but with a few well-timed contributions of his friends.’ Neither charge, however, can be taken seriously, though Hazlitt freely acknowledges his debt to Lamb again and again; for it is indisputable that Hazlitt’s mind was above all things independent. We need only compare his splendid phrase about Richardson’s Lovelace with Lamb’s vindication of ‘Richard III’ to see, not merely Hazlitt’s independence, but the natural way in which his imagination and Lamb’s worked out similar results, and stamped the same indelible pattern on our memories. To read how Lamb found himself spell-bound by Richard III’s ‘fine address, his buoyant spirits, his self-command, his predominant and masterly dissimulation,’ makes one immediately recall Hazlitt on that ‘regality of Lovelace’s mind over which Clarissa triumphed by her virtue and the force of her love.’

Those admirers of ‘Clarissa’ who ignore Lovelace do her cruel wrong. The thing which makes that famous book more like a Greek tragedy than any other novel is that Clarissa’s virtue, like that of Prometheus, did not save her from mistakes, and that both paid the appalling penalty that only true tragedy demands. Clarissa’s initial mistake lay in yielding herself, for however short a time, to the irresistible ‘regality’ of Lovelace’s mind. Those who undervalue Lovelace undervalue the greatness of Clarissa’s recovery, and rob her of half her virtue and half her tragedy. All this Hazlitt conveys by a single substantive, ‘regality’—a unique achievement.

But Hazlitt’s contribution to criticism—to that new criticism which was to furnish the Romantic movement with so many fresh reasons for its existence—cannot be represented by isolated illustrations, however significant. One has only to read the preface to his ‘Characters of Shakespeare’ to see how his principles supported the practice of poets with whom he often showed scant sympathy. He did, it is true, praise Wordsworth well and wisely, as well as censure him; and his belief in him is proved, as Lamb saw, by his frequent quotations—which are to be found even in the midst of his criticisms—as much as by anything else. But it is not his attitude towards Coleridge and Wordsworth that settles the

question, as may be easily seen in such a passage as this :—

'Johnson, in dealing with Shakespeare, made criticism a kind of Procrustes' bed of genius where he might cut down imagination to matter-of-fact . . . he was without that intense-ness of passion which, seeking to exaggerate whatever excites the feeling of pleasure or power in the mind, and moulding the impressions of natural objects according to the impulses of imagination, produces a genius and a taste for poetry.' And, again, he speaks of 'the imagination which seeks to express that passion and the uneasy sense of delight accom-panying it by something still more beautiful.'

What more than those words and phrases—'exaggerate,' 'uneasy sense of delight'—does Romanticism require to explain and defend her 'unchartered freedoms ?'

Hazlitt, fortified by a close study of Shakesperean variety, of his 'myriad-minded' attitude towards nature and human nature, demands from us all sympathy with the 'rich and strange'; and, if the rich (as in 'Kubla Khan') was sometimes too strange for his taste, he never inclined to the heresy that there are times when it is an advantage to poetry to be less poetical. The Audreys of this world who 'have not been made poetical' were, Hazlitt knew, not to be trusted with criticism.

It is perhaps worth noticing that Hazlitt quotes for the 'uneasy sense of delight' that passage which is one of Matthew Arnold's examples of the 'natural magic' that 'seizes the secret of animals or plants and makes us participate in their life.'

‘Daffodils’

That come before the swallow dares and take
The winds of March with beauty.’

Pater has selected another favourite passage to illustrate 'the imaginative quality in the use of poetic figures' with which we are so familiar in the theory of Wordsworth and the practice of Coleridge.

‘Dear cousin Suffolk,
My soul shall thine keep company to heaven.
Tarry, sweet soul, for mine—then *fly abreast*.’

Hazlitt's lecture on 'Henry V' ends with these lines; he calls it 'a passage of heroic beauty seldom noticed.' For

Pater's comment on the suppressed simile in italics it would be almost enough to substitute the lines in the 'Ancient Mariner'—

‘And every soul it passed me by
Like the whizz of my cross-bow.’

The significance of these references to Victorian critics is that they are an indirect proof, over and above the direct ones, that the twentieth century is infinitely less remote from Hazlitt's point of view than he is from Addison or even from Goldsmith. As Lamb says of Montaigne, ‘You may on any page detect a “Spectator” or start a “Rambler,”’ so one may say of Hazlitt that in his pages are to be found the origins of many a latter-day essayist. Professor Saintsbury lays the greatest of the Victorians—Macaulay, Carlyle, Ruskin—under direct obligations to him, even answering Jeffrey's famous question about the source of Macaulay's style with the single word ‘Hazlitt.’ Without committing ourselves to anything so definite, we may concede that the immense range of the lighter essay in our own day, as well as the form of the more serious essay, began with Hazlitt. Nor, when one comes to his limitations, his absorbing literary sympathy with the great and even the lesser names of the past, and the niggard praise he deals out to contemporaries, should we forget that he has more to say for contemporaries and about them than Macaulay had.

The noticeable thing in Hazlitt is that, with all his passionate preference for those authors whom the world had already judged and placed, he writes of Shakespeare, Chaucer, Spenser and others in a language as modern and as much in harmony with the modern view as if he had nothing of that exclusive spirit which we associate with men who are in imperfect sympathy with their own age. For one thing, he habitually repeats himself; and there is an unmistakable significance about the word ‘romantic’ recurring so often; even our favourite antithesis—Classic and Romantic—is his also. He talks of ‘the classic dignity of Caliban’ as compared with the drunken sailors in ‘The Tempest,’ and of Bottom as ‘the most romantic of mechanics.’

One might go through the plays collecting examples of his phrases, all of which might be called late Victorian,

if they were not sometimes so good that one is tempted to say ruefully what Gray said scornfully, 'Put me this into the tongue of your moderns'; or, to borrow Mr Henley's quotation from Stevenson, 'We are mighty fine fellows, but we can't write like William Hazlitt.' Let us recall a few of these phrases. A speech in 'Cymbeline' is called 'the very religion of love.' Of the famous simile,

'Like the crimson drops
I' the bottom of a cowslip.'

he says, 'There is a moral sense in this last image—the rich surfeit of the fancy.' There is the superbly laconic characterisation of Iago—'an amateur of tragedy in real life.' A characterisation equally laconic and hardly less satisfying is that of Falstaff—'His imagination kept up the ball when the senses had done with it.' A sentence about 'Macbeth' seems to sum up in effect all that he afterwards borrows from Lamb's remarks on the witches: 'The whole play is an unruly chaos of strange and forbidden things, where the ground rocks under our feet. Shakespeare's genius here took its full swing, and trod upon the furthest bounds of nature and passion.' And again: 'The only approach to Ophelia is in some of our old romantic ballads.' Even those out of sympathy with Ophelia may admit that it is only in things like Herrick's 'Mad Maid's Song' that we have hints of a story like hers, or are conscious of the same fusion of the pathetic with the fantastic and the beautiful.

Room must be made for one or two longer quotations, if we are to do justice to the range of Hazlitt's criticisms. In the paper on 'Romeo and Juliet' he dismisses, even more summarily than Matthew Arnold, the Wordsworthian doctrine expounded in the 'Ode to Immortality':

'It is not the knowledge of the past but the obscurity before it that colours the prospect of life with hope; it is ignorance which fills the void to come with the warmth of our desires. Romeo and Juliet's pleasure was founded, not on the pleasures they had experienced, but the pleasures they had *not* experienced. In all this Shakespeare has but followed nature, which existed in his time as well as now.'

This last is one of those rare touches in Hazlitt, though less rare than some would have us believe—an approach

to humour; and it may be compared with that in Dryden—‘For ten to one in former days was odds.’ One may ask why the man who could call the imagination ‘a monopolising, exaggerating, exclusive faculty,’ which ‘seeks the greatest quantity of excitement by inequality and disproportion,’ failed to appreciate ‘Christabel’ and ‘Kubla Khan’; but only a flat truism awaits us for answer—that to enumerate a man’s faculties is not to know the man.

Hazlitt did not produce an *apologia* for the artificial comedy of the Restoration as Lamb did, but he wrote of it with wonderful insight and appreciation. He even called it, in a sense, a truer idea of comedy than Shakespeare’s, which was ‘too magnanimous.’ But that did not prevent him from writing a sentence like this—‘There is a constant infusion of the romantic and enthusiastic where the characters are natural and sincere’—a sentence which justifies those who prefer Shakespearean comedy, and helps us to understand why he calls Bottom romantic. But in his essay on ‘Troilus and Cressida’ the greatest of his tributes to Shakespeare is to be found. ‘Chaucer’s ideas did not play into one another’s hands. What is the most wonderful thing in Shakespeare’s faculties is their excessive sociability, and how they gossiped and compared notes together.’ In Shakespeare blood and judgment were as well commingled as in his own Horatio; and no one of his varied powers is found impairing the claim which Lamb made for him, and others have made for the Greeks—the claim to be called, above all things, sane.

Lamb takes higher rank as a Shakespearean critic than Hazlitt, though the quantity of his criticism is small. It is not that Hazlitt is not profound, but that Lamb is more profound and is magnificent as well. There is genius in Hazlitt, but there is the glow of genius in Lamb. Moreover, as Professor Bradley points out, he could pass from his own mind into that of Shakespeare in a way that was not always possible to Hazlitt. Lamb thought there was a patronising incapacity about most of our efforts to understand Shakespeare.

‘From his own mind, the sphere of humanity, not from a petty inquisition into those cheap and everyday characters which surrounded him, Shakespeare fetched those images of

virtue and knowledge, of which every one of us, recognising a part, think we comprehend in our natures the whole; and oftentimes mistake the powers which he positively creates in us for nothing more than indigenous faculties of our own minds, which only waited the application of corresponding virtues in him to return a full and clear echo of the same.'

The famous passage on '*Lear*' is too familiar to quote, but it is the best example of what we may call Lamb's magnificence. What he says, however, of the 'texture of Othello's mind, the inward construction marvellously laid open, with all its strengths and weaknesses, its heroic confidences, and its human misgivings, its agonies of hate springing from the depths of love,' is hardly less wonderful. And how could the difficulty of '*Hamlet*' be better put than in such words as these :—

'These tokens of an unhinged mind (if they be not mixed, in Ophelia's case, with a profound artifice of love to alienate Ophelia by affected discourtesies, so to prepare her mind for the breaking-off of that loving intercourse which can no longer find a place amidst business so serious as that which he has to do) are parts of his character which to reconcile with our admiration of Hamlet the most patient consideration is no more than necessary.'

Hazlitt, too, recognised this, as one may see in a note to his study of *Hamlet*. '*Hamlet's* pretended madness would make a very good real madness in any other poet.'

Lamb's 'crowning paradox,' as we all know, was that Shakespeare's plays are 'less calculated for performance on a stage than those of almost any other dramatist whatever.' And yet, by universal consent, Shakespeare's practical knowledge of the stage impresses us hardly less than his poetical genius. 'Had Lamb merely forgotten, despite all his enjoyment of and familiarity with the stage, that it is the fault of acting if Shakespeare cannot be acted? or was he merely seizing, for the moment, convenient opportunities for enlarging on some character or conception of Shakespeare?' These are Canon Ainger's suggestions; but, in reverting to the discussion on '*Lear*', he afterwards lights on a truer explanation. 'That Lamb was a poet, is at the root of his greatness as a critic.' That Hazlitt was not a poet, and could not, perhaps we may say, have become one, is the explanation of his

inferiority. When Aristotle is going over the merits of the Platonic dialogues, he crowns the list with τὸ περισσόν—some indefinable superiority, some unexplained prerogative of genius, some grace beyond the reach of any art that we know. It is something like this that one means by speaking of Lamb's magnificence.

Canon Ainger, in perhaps the happiest passage of a memoir full of felicities, says of the famous criticism on 'Lear' that 'Lamb's emphatic vindication of the course of events in Shakespeare's tragedy of course implies a criticism and a commendation. But no one feels that he is patronising or judging Shakespeare.' (Ah, that patronage! How it has spoiled the acuteness and ingenuity of modern critics as they cast up the great man's—Fitzgerald's or another's—merits and defects! Lamb knew the type and enjoyed its fatuities—his George Dyers with their 'Shakespeare a great irregular genius!') But we must not mangle Canon Ainger's *purpureus pannus*, for it is the 'true imperial murex grain.'

'Lamb' (he says) 'takes Lear, as it were, out of the hands of literature and regards him as a human being placed in the world where all men have to suffer and be tempted. We forget that he is a character in a play or even in history. Lamb's criticism is a commentary on life; and no truer homage could be paid to the dramatist than that he should be allowed for the time to pass out of our thoughts.'

Does not this at once suggest Lamb's retrospect of his days of happy poverty? Everything not poetical passed even out of his thoughts when he saw Shakespeare on the stage. 'What did the shilling seats matter? We were with Rosalind in the forest of Arden, with Viola in Illyria.' And he was with Lear in the storm, with Lear in the company of the Fool. Who could understand so well 'the jests that scald like tears'?

In Mr Forster's memoir, too, there is a passage which recalls what Hazlitt says of Lear and the Fool: 'The sublimest instance I know of imagination unfolding the most tremendous sufferings and of burlesque on passion playing with it.' 'Lamb' (says Mr Forster) 'would, in a jest, in a few light phrases, open the recesses of his heart. Some old friends saw him two or three weeks ago and remarked the constant turning and reference of his mind.'

(It was soon after the death of Coleridge.) 'He interrupted himself and them every instant with some play of affected wonder or humorous melancholy on the words, "Coleridge is dead." Hazlitt's sentence about Falstaff, already quoted, may be loosely applied to Lear as it impressed Lamb, and may impress ourselves in an inferior degree. The imagination kept up the ball when the senses—those to which drama and the theatre appeal—had done with it. The imagination is here imperious; the mind is its own place, and in no other place can the full tragedy be presented. The stage, perhaps, can never claim so much as the whole tragedy, but in 'Lear' we cannot do with less than the whole.

In his 'Characters of the Elizabethan Dramatists,' Lamb says of Heywood that 'he is a sort of prose Shakespeare. His scenes are to the full as natural and affecting. But we miss the poet—that which in Shakespeare always appears out and above the surface of nature.' Here again we have light on the paradox. When the poet suffers, as in the stage Lear, Lamb suffered with him; but he suffered even more with Lear than with his creator in the story—which is good evidence that he was a poet. As Nodier says in the preface to his translation of the 'Vicar of Wakefield'—

'Le cœur du poète contient, et bien plus encore, tout ce que l'humanité a senti, aime tout ce qu'elle a aimé, possède tout ce qu'elle envie, souffre, quand il s'y condamne par la libre action de la pensée, tout ce qu'elle est capable de souffrir.'

One need not go to Lamb's poems to learn that he was a poet. 'Rosamund Gray' will tell us that. There is hardly enough of it to call a story; but there is quite enough to show it was written by a poet. No wonder that Shelley called it a lovely thing. The fine spirit of Lamb and its fine issues are all there. If there was 'something tough in his attachments,' he was in them (though by no means always elsewhere) the finest gentleman one knows, the Don Quixote to whom Bulwer compared him. 'Earth seemed to me' (the words are from 'Rosamund Gray,' and they are the narrator's, that is, Lamb's) 'no longer valuable than as it contained my friend, and existence a blessing no longer than while I should live to be his comforter.' This other note, too, is

his, though the words are Elinor's: 'I will consider life as a long feast, and not forget to say grace.'

When a man's first care is humanity, when his highest interest is the truest, subtlest, deepest expression of it, we feel that he is a fitting spokesman of the race; we feel that where his heart is (as Canon Ainger says of Lamb) there his judgment is sound. At high poetry, the human comedy or the human tragedy, he cannot look on unmoved. Elsewhere we may dispute his verdict; but here (as in Lear) out of a full heart the mouth speaketh. Such a man has a charter, given to no other, to tell us how or what we should think. He is not a critic; he is the steward of the poet's mysteries who brings forth of his treasures things new and old—old, because they were given us so long ago; new, because destiny keeps us waiting for the right steward to show them.

It is not easy to overpraise the feeling and judgment shown in Mr Lucas' 'Life of Lamb.' The humble rôle of a stage-manager is all that he claims for himself; and, if we take him at his word and are 'modest for a modest man,' we find ourselves wishing that there were more stage-managers and fewer biographers; but, if we follow Lamb's other counsel, and are resolved 'to see to it that he loses nothing by his noble modesty,' it is only common justice to add that such Boswellian fullness of detail and nicety of adjustment are rare indeed in biographical studies. His book is as satisfying in these respects as Sir George Trevelyan's 'Macaulay'; and, though not more interesting, it is probably a work which has made even greater demands on piety and industry. It may be true that we are 'a great nation but not amiable'; still, where Englishmen have been amiable, there has always been a jealous rivalry among their countrymen to exhibit these 'men greatly beloved' in all their attractiveness, and to search for new titles to the affection and admiration we bestow on these rarer personalities. It could hardly be said of Macaulay that 'among men of genius he was the most intensely and universally beloved'; still less that he had 'the love of friends without a single foe. If Carlyle is to be regarded as the exception, one is moved to borrow Mr Henley's welcome vehemence and say, 'We have all read Carlyle on Lamb. The everlasting pity is that we shall never read Hazlitt on Carlyle.'

The cult, therefore, in Lamb's case is much larger ; and the devotees are more exacting. When we add to this that his common fame is that of a humorist, and that this description is so little able to stand alone that Wordsworth could write of him,

' Still at the centre of his being lodged
A soul by resignation sanctified,'

we begin to understand how many sympathies must co-exist in his biographer. The method which Mr Lucas has adopted seems to be adequately described by himself. He has let Lamb and his friends tell the story as far as he can. He has not, we rejoice to see, been afraid of repetitions or assumed our knowledge of things. Lamb is the most autobiographic of writers ; and Elia 'the chartered egotist' is made to reinforce, by his essays no less than by his letters and his friends' letters, all that we know of the incidents of his life. Besides these, in his occasional notes and paragraphs, Mr Lucas reveals a most sympathetic discernment of the subject of his biography and of the hold he had on men—that quality which alone makes industry valuable and love really informing.

The slightest illustration will suffice. Reference has already been made to Lamb's offer of marriage to Miss Kelly. Most appositely does Mr Lucas enrich his account of it by Lamb's remark on her acting in 'The Hypocrite.' 'She is in truth not framed to tease or to torment even in jest, but to utter a hearty yes or no, to yield or refuse assent with a noble sincerity. We have not the pleasure of being acquainted with her, but we have been told that she carries the same cordial manners into private life.' Most apposite is the comment. 'That was the end ; and is it not the prettiest dramatic criticism in the world ?' There could not be a better example of Lamb's autobiographic mysteries ; and Mr Lucas adds a second more moving question : ' Does this offer put upon "Dream Children," that beautiful tissue of wistful regrets and delicate imaginings, a new complexion ? ' Valuable, too, are such small things as the tribute of the attorney who brought work to Crabb Robinson : ' I love Elia ; and that was enough to make me come to you ' ; and that part of the Norris reminiscences which records that ' Mr Richard Norris did not like Mr Lamb's teasing ways,

but that Mr Lamb often went out long walks with him because nobody else would.'

Passages copied out in Lamb's commonplace book have a real and delightful significance, such for instance as the letter to Dr Doddridge and the curious extract from Cobbett. The first must be quoted as redolent both of the humour and piety which every one knew to be Lamb's, and of that other piety which only Coleridge and a few of the initiated knew. After thanking Dr Doddridge for his 'Family Expositor,' Lamb goes on: 'My mother, who is superior to me in everything, aspired to the Divine learning of the Improvements, while I kept grovelling in the human learning in the notes below.'

The appendix on Lamb's library illustrates Mr Lucas' methods, and bears on the subject of this paper. He puts side by side an essay of Hazlitt's on Criticism, and Lamb's 'Detached Thoughts on Books and Reading.' The first is a slighting estimate of those who, like Lamb, delighted in the 'oddities of authorship'; and Mr Lucas tells us it was meant for Lamb. If so, it stands almost alone, for Hazlitt was very appreciative of Lamb's tastes. But there is a tell-tale sentence in Lamb's own essay, suggesting his strength and weakness, which would go some way towards justifying Hazlitt, even if his essay were written in a fit of temper: 'I love to lose myself in other men's minds.' Hazlitt could never lose himself in other men's minds, and his criticism has often a superior sanity in consequence; but it would have been better for him sometimes if he could have lost himself for a while. No one can read his paper on Sir Thomas Browne without feeling how little of the real Browne his disparaging estimate covers. And he gives us every chance of feeling this, for he prints at the end Coleridge's wonderful appreciation, written in Lamb's copy of Browne and as Lamb himself might have written it. This was magnanimous of Hazlitt; and, as we are talking of magnanimity, it is only just to refer to his criticism of Ford's 'Broken Heart,' the subject of Lamb's famous eulogy which Hazlitt thought so extravagant. Nothing could be more modest than his parenthesis, 'I think it extravagant; others may think it sublime and be right.'

Mr Lucas says that 'the word loyalty was not in Hazlitt's dictionary; and that he would never have

brooked such an impediment to his independence as the bond of love.' There is, it is to be feared, little exaggeration in these charges in their literal sense. Hazlitt was one of the most difficult of men. Yet there was another loyalty in which he claimed to be superior to Lamb. In books, his old favourites were favourites to the last; and, when Mr Lucas says that Lamb 'had very little of the literary temperament,' while Hazlitt was 'steeped in ink,' we should not forget the enthusiastic passages about Rousseau and other old literary friends, and his tenderness of tone in speaking of them. Comparing with these passages his last recorded words, 'Well, I have had a happy life,' we may profitably ask ourselves whether 'one of the finest spirits breathing' had not somewhere some instrument more potent in producing happiness than a pen. There is something different from the pen of the ready-writer, or even the brilliant critic, in such a sentence as this: 'I became only of late acquainted with this character [honest old Dekker's Signor Orlando Friscobaldo], but the bargain between us is, I trust, for life.'

Hazlitt was beyond question a journalist by trade; but it was just because he could not help producing literature that we have a right to call him a genius. So Goldsmith's histories were ill-equipped hack-work; but he could not prevent his genius doing some of the work of learning at a single stroke in his preface to the Roman history. Not that Hazlitt is on a level with Goldsmith or Lamb; but there was always genius in reserve with each of them, or the phrase 'could not help' would have no meaning. Moreover, it is true in a sense that Hazlitt 'loved much'—books at least, if not men; and here we have another reason for his so often getting beyond the professional and provincial note. If we miss the winged words of Lamb's enthusiasm—Hazlitt was too near an orator to be a poet—we get something very like his insight; and his judgment never loses its balance, as does that of Lamb occasionally, from emotion a little overstrained. We must not assign any other cause, for Lamb never (any more than Hazlitt) calls upon language for more than it can do without prejudice to lucidity.

Here are a few examples which show their likeness in difference; and in the first two one may draw attention to the fact that both critics emphasise that aspect of

poetry in which it is presented as 'a criticism of life.' Yet the wildest spirit of malignity has never described Lamb and Hazlitt as pedants or pedagogues—charges freely bandied about when this phrase was added to our Victorian vocabulary. Lamb says bluntly that his design in the 'Specimens' was to 'illustrate what may be called the moral sense of our ancestors.' And Hazlitt, in a tone almost more earnest, objects to Beaumont and Fletcher's portraiture that it 'is not safe teaching. They seem to regard the decomposition of the common affections and the dissolution of the strict bonds of society as an agreeable study and a careless pastime.' But the censor disappears when we come to the lyrics. He quotes:—

‘Brightest, if there be remaining
Any service, without feigning
I will do it—were I set
To catch the nimble wind, or get
Shadows gliding on the green.’

And this is his comment: 'It would be a task no less difficult than this, to follow the flight of the poet's muse, or catch her fleeting graces, fluttering her golden wings, and singing in notes angelical of youth, of love and joy.'

This is not on the level of Lamb's thrilling words about Webster's funeral dirge—'of the earth earthy, as the dirge in "The Tempest" is of the water watery'; but there is in both the same sincerity, if not the same strength. Hazlitt, however, is but a little way behind Lamb in his appreciation of the 'Duchess of Malfi.' 'To move a horror skilfully' (says Lamb), 'to touch a soul to the quick, to lay upon fear as much as it can bear, to wean and weary a life till it is ready to drop, and then to take its last forfeit—this only a Webster can do.' And this is Hazlitt's last word on the play, on the 'infelicity that seemed to have years too many.' 'This is not the bandying of idle words and rhetorical commonplaces, but the writhing and conflict and the sublime colloquy of man's nature with itself.'

In the lighter sympathies they were not less in accord, as we may see in Dekker's 'Old Fortunatus. Of 'the fortunate inamorato,' Lamb says in an exquisite *apologia*, 'Love's sectaries are a reason unto themselves'; and Hazlitt is not less eloquent on 'the idle garrulity of age

which has the feelings and gaiety of youth still upon its cheek and in its heart.' Not only in the Elizabethan dramatists, but in the century of their own birth did these two critics find common admirations. Pope, Fielding, and Richardson were of their Lares and Penates; and their fidelity to Pope is in marked contrast to the disparagement of Coleridge and Wordsworth. When Lamb's devotion caused surprise, he deemed it sufficient to ask 'if any man ever paid compliments like Pope?'

If we go back a century we come upon a difference; Hazlitt, it is clear, did not understand Cowley. The humanity in him was too meagre to discover Cowley's pathos, whereas Lamb loved him as only he could love poets. But Hazlitt's appreciation of Butler makes up.

'He startles you with the same alertness and power over the odd and unaccountable in the combinations of sounds as of images. . . . The links in the chain of reasoning are so closely riveted that the attention seldom flags, but is kept alive, without any other assistance, by the mere force of writing.'

Criticism has rarely been lifted into higher excellence 'by the force of writing' than in this passage.

Hazlitt and Lamb had a passion for pictures, though Lamb, unlike Hazlitt, had never been a painter; but it is objected that their criticism of pictures has less to do with art than with letters. They choose common ground in Hogarth; and here, as in the Elizabethan dramatists, Hazlitt quotes Lamb with the most complimentary deference, though he does it without any sacrifice of independence. In Mr Austin Dobson's 'Hogarth' both are referred to as accepted authorities, but Hazlitt is quoted more than once; whether because Lamb's criticisms are better known or Hazlitt's more sound, does not appear. Both critics praise Hogarth for the amount of thinking in his pictures—a quality that Fielding was the first to insist on in a striking sentence: 'It seems much to say of a painter's figures that they breathe. Hogarth's do more—they think.' As Hogarth was pre-eminently a humorist, this immediately recalls Rasselas and his poor opinion of the youth of Egypt: 'Their mirth was without images.' Both Hazlitt and Lamb seem occasionally to have been sympathetic to the point of seeing too much. But, with Hazlitt's tribute to Lamb and Mr Dobson's tribute to

Hazlitt (he calls Hazlitt's criticism 'memorable' and speaks of his 'admirable exactitude'), those who are not experts may enjoy both critics without diffidence.

There is one book of Hazlitt's which must of course appear in his 'collected works,' but which surely no lover of Hazlitt can wish to see reprinted, as it has been, in a separate volume, the 'Liber Amoris.' It has been praised by high authority, by Lord Houghton for instance; and Mr Henley assures us that it was well worth the hundred guineas that Hazlitt received for it. Those guineas were dearly bought by work which presents Hazlitt in such an atmosphere of squalid sentiment as the book reveals. The eulogists of the 'Liber Amoris' lay themselves open to the homely reminder that fine words butter no parsnips. Hazlitt's most unsympathetic paper is on 'The Look of a Gentleman'; and one understands why it is so, when one hears that he sent the 'Liber Amoris' to a friend with the remark that he would find it 'nice reading.' A man who could thus wear, not his heart, but his maudlin ecstasies, on his sleeve was assuredly not qualified to say what a gentleman should or does look like.

However humble Hazlitt's origin, there is only one other thing quite on this level; and that is the review of 'Christabel' which Coleridge ascribed to him and Mr Dykes Campbell accepted for his. We cling to the hope that they may be wrong, for, unlike most things of Hazlitt's, it is dull beyond hope of redemption; but the most appalling thing in it is its gaiety. It recalls that essay of De Quincey's which is made light and bright chiefly by calling girls 'gals.' Hazlitt's brightness descends to the same vulgar pleasantry. It consists in calling Christabel and Geraldine Lady C. and Lady G. If this thing is Hazlitt's, we might almost say boldly that his humour was conspicuous by its absence; but this would not be true. At any rate, two obvious examples occur to rebut the charge. One is his answer to those ecstatic admirers of Chatterton who professed to see in him an incarnation of Apollo. 'The god,' said Hazlitt, with both wit and humour, 'might have preserved his incognito without difficulty.' The other example is his appreciation of the comment made by a 'highly respectable person,' whom he used to meet at the Southampton coffee-house, on his description of Porson. Hazlitt

had seen the great scholar in some public-house—dirty, shabby, and disreputable—tossing off a pint of porter. The respectable person listened in grave distress, and then said: ‘I submit to you, sir, whether, after all, common-sense is not the principal thing.’ No man without a sense of humour would have derived enjoyment from this story. Of his biting wit let the following suffice. Speaking of John Cavanagh’s fives-playing, he says:—

‘His blows were not undecided and ineffectual—lumbering like Mr Wordsworth’s epic poetry, nor wavering like Mr Coleridge’s lyric prose, nor short of the mark like Mr Brougham’s speeches, nor wide of it like Mr Canning’s wit, nor foul like the “Quarterly,” nor *let* balls like the “Edinburgh Review.”’

In spite of this passage and others in which he disparaged Wordsworth, Hazlitt had a genuine admiration of him. His quotations, as we have seen, and not less his misquotations (he positively murders the last two lines of ‘The world is too much with us’), are better evidence of his estimation than his ranking Wordsworth with, or a little below, Akenside is evidence against it. A single phrase from ‘The Spirit of the Age’ should be enough to settle the question, for he calls Wordsworth ‘in one sense the most original poet now living . . . the one whose writings could the least be spared.’ The ‘murdering’ may be regarded as a proof of Hazlitt’s affection, for Shakespeare is handled with the same scant ceremony.

Lamb had decided on the merits of ‘Tintern Abbey’ the moment it appeared; and his praise of ‘The Excursion’ in the review which he said Gifford had so cruelly mutilated, contains a tribute that would have satisfied even Dean Church: ‘The steps of the great master [Milton] are discernible in it, not in direct imitation or injurious parody, but in the following of the spirit, in free homage and generous subjection.’ But Lamb never put anything of Wordsworth’s on a level with ‘The Ancient Mariner,’ nor forgot the stanzas which ‘stung him to high pleasure through sufferings.’ The cause of poetry will always be served by critics, when they are masters of this large utterance. One wonders how Southey, who had called the poem a ‘Dutch attempt,’ felt after reading Lamb’s words.

Hazlitt fully appreciated ‘The Ancient Mariner’; even

in 'Christabel' he could praise the lines beginning, 'Alas, they had been friends in youth.' That passage, however, exquisite as it is, was at least more within the reach of the age, before 'Lyrical Ballads' appeared, than any other part of the poem; and the praise bestowed is poor evidence of Hazlitt's sympathy with the Romantic movement. Some other things, however, must have pleased him, for quotation, with Hazlitt, always meant approval; and he did not quickly forget that moving line, 'For the spring comes slowly up this way.' The fact is that Hazlitt was only too willing to inflict literary chastisement for what he thought political apostasy; and, if he did not give Macaulay his style, he anticipated him in 'dusting a varlet's jacket in the blue and yellow.' It was anything but irony when Hazlitt laid it down that the spleen is a fruitful source of oratory—one fancies he meant virtue, but lacked the courage to say it. Still, he never forgets the early impression of Coleridge's conversation, and indeed of his whole personality, though his careful inventory of the Coleridgian features only embittered his violence in later times. But even the spleen could not make his abuse of Coleridge like his abuse of other people. Lamb knew that the old impression was not effaced, though he felt a sort of pained amusement at 'a license beyond the old comedy.'

In the essay on Dreams (which he should have remembered when he denounced 'Kubla Khan'), Hazlitt recalls a remark Coleridge once made to him—“That must have been because you never dream. There is a class of poetry built on this foundation, which is surely no inconsiderable part of our nature, since we are asleep and building up imaginations of this sort half our time.” It was one of his conjectural subtleties,’ comments Hazlitt, ‘in which he excels all the persons I ever knew.’ Yet, subtleties or no subtleties, Hazlitt, in one of his best essays ('Living to One's Self'), has a significant sentence which seems to say that, but for Hazlitt the politician, Hazlitt the man of letters would have had small difficulty in getting quite close to Coleridge. ‘I lived’ (he says) ‘in a world of contemplation and not of action. This sort of dreaming existence is the best.’

‘Taste,’ said Hazlitt, in one of his essays, ‘is entire sympathy with the finest impulses of the imagination, not

antipathy, not indifference to them.' With indifference he could rarely be charged, with antipathy often; but it was not really literary antipathy at any time, whatever vials of contumely he poured forth upon those whose fame was already established; it was personal and political antipathy. He 'knew the bad by the rule of the good' as well as any one that ever lived. He hated men, and despised men—that was 'the sign of his shame and the seal of our sorrow'; but books that the centuries had called books he never despised. The lesser, like the greater lights, stirred in him humane catholic worship; and no rapt feeling was beyond him, as this passage shows: 'When Mr Wordsworth once said that he could read the description of Satan in Milton* till he felt a certain faintness come over his mind from a sense of beauty and grandeur, I saw no extravagance in this, but the utmost truth of feeling.' We need not doubt it. For the faith that was in him no man could give a more satisfying, more vivid, more triumphant reason than Hazlitt; but he also knew, on occasion, that in literature, as in life, 'Love reasons much better than Reason.'

To provide new epithets with which to honour Charles Lamb is to court failure and to imperil modesty; even to attempt any heightening of the old ones would be superfluous. With Hazlitt the case is different. He has not Lamb's 'inevitableness,' and has never had Lamb's vogue. But the motto prefixed to his delightful essay on sun-dials may suggest to us that, with all his failings, he belongs to the few, not to the many; for the critic of genius is a priceless rarity. 'Horas non numero nisi serenas.' If one only counts Hazlitt's serene hours, they prove him to have had something far higher than the talent which does what it *can*. He had his share—no one who has tasted the fruit of those serene hours can gainsay it—of the genius which does what it *must*.

SIDNEY T. IRWIN.

* 'Nor seemed
Less than Archangel ruined, and the excess
Of glory obscured.'

Art. IX.—GOLD AND THE BANKS.

1. *Principles of Economics.* By Dr N. G. Pierson. Translated from the Dutch by A. A. Wotzel. Vol. I. London : Macmillan, 1902.
2. *The Country Banker: his Clients, Cares, and Work.* By George Rae. 13th Impression. London : Murray, 1903.
3. *Bank Rate and the Money Market in England, France, Germany, Holland, and Belgium, 1844–1900.* By R. H. Inglis Palgrave, F.R.S. London : Murray, 1903.
4. *The Country Banker's Handbook.* By J. G. Kiddy. Fourth edition. London : Waterlow, 1903.
5. *The Law of Banking.* By Sir John R. Paget, Bart. London : Butterworth, 1904.
6. *Das Englische Bankwesen.* Von Edgar Jaffé. Leipzig : Duncker and Humblot, 1905.
7. *International Monetary Conferences.* By H. B. Russell. London : Harper, 1898.
8. *Report of the Commission on International Exchange.* Washington : Government Printing Office, 1903.

And other works.

THE circulating medium is not, as a rule, one of the subjects about which many people trouble themselves, except to secure as much as they require for their immediate needs. But, beside the ordinary methods of meeting the casual wants of the moment, there lie the wide questions of the 'circulating medium' and the 'standard of value'—words which, while they have a real meaning to the learned, are used in a very casual manner by the vast majority of the owners of cheque-books. To discuss these questions without endeavouring to give the reader some notion of the great subjects with which they are interwoven, would be like bidding a traveller find his way through a labyrinth without a clue to its many windings. An attempt will therefore be made here to give an idea of the outlines of these subjects, which, though intricate in appearance, lend themselves readily to explanation. They are matters of real importance, and not only, directly or indirectly, affect the position of all business affairs in this country, but have a far wider extension.

The subject before us divides itself primarily into

two parts, naturally interwoven with each other. These are, first, the circulating medium, and, secondly, the basis on which that medium rests. That basis is the standard of value—in this country, and in most countries of the civilised world, gold.

Let us commence with the consideration of the circulating medium of the United Kingdom. Like many things in use in this country, the circulating medium employed for ordinary purposes is a purely British product. I have said ‘the circulating medium for ordinary purposes.’ Occasionally, it is true, ‘legal tender’ is required, that is to say, sovereigns or Bank of England notes. I have known, in my time, solicitors require the production of legal tender before completing some large purchase, for instance, of a valuable landed estate. Nowadays, however, this precaution is usually dispensed with. A cheque marked by the cashier of the local bank is accepted in discharge of payment of very large sums, and thus fulfils absolutely the conditions of ‘money.’

England was the first country to establish a circulating medium consisting of unsecured paper—cheques—which are really drafts on demand, signed by tens of thousands of persons, usually little known beyond their immediate surroundings, all the cheques being expressed in terms of gold and drawn upon a small number of banks whose standing and character support the circulation. These cheques are directions to pay so much money in gold. Legally they are Bills of Exchange, and require a penny stamp to authenticate them. Suggestions have sometimes been made to increase the stamp duty; but it is very doubtful whether raising the duty would increase the gain from the tax to the State. Cheques are continually being drawn for smaller amounts than used to be the case; and any hindrance to their general use would be injurious to trade. The cheques are sometimes drawn for amounts less than a shilling; they may run up to hundreds of thousands of pounds. The drawers are men and women of all sorts and conditions. As a rule, the cheques scarcely ever pass from the hands of the persons in whose favour they are drawn into general circulation. They simply meet the requirements of the moment, and then pass out of sight.

The machine is perfect; its movements proceed with

the utmost regularity. The annual circulation is estimated to be at least half as large again as that of the London Clearing House, which means a movement of 15,000,000,000*l.* No one asks what stock of gold is held by the bank on which the cheques are drawn, or what the Bank of England itself keeps in reserve. The whole is taken in faith on a well-founded trust. It is the most easily worked paper circulation and circulating medium in existence. Like the marvellous tent of the fairy Paribanou, it expands itself to meet every want, and contracts again the moment the strain is passed. Such is its action under ordinary conditions. On times of stress and crisis we need not dwell now.

In France matters are somewhat different. The monetary circulation of that country consists mainly of notes of the Bank of France, which usually holds in reserve an amount of the precious metals, principally gold, at least equal to the circulation. Our neighbours across the Channel take far more pains than we do to investigate the position of their internal resources; and an official enquiry is made from time to time in France into the composition of the circulating medium of the country, to ascertain what proportion of it consists of coin and what proportion of notes of the Bank of France. In the last enquiry of this kind, which took place in 1903, all the public offices of France took part, and besides them the principal banking institutions of the country, such as the Bank of France, the Crédit Foncier of France, the Crédit Industriel et Commercial, the Crédit Lyonnais, the Comptoir National d'Escompte de Paris, and the Société Générale. At all the numerous offices controlled by these powerful institutions, a census was taken of the details of the cash in their safes on the evening of October 15, 1903. The sums examined reached the large figure of 11,052,430*l.* Notes of the Bank of France formed more than 85 per cent. of the whole. Gold coin was no more than 9 per cent.; the remainder was in five-franc pieces and divisional currency. Similar enquiries have been made at intervals of six or seven years during the last quarter of a century. A comparison of the composition of the amounts shows that the proportion of payments in notes of the Bank of France continually increases, while that of payments in coin diminishes.

There is also a considerable drop in the proportion of the five-franc pieces employed. It is within comparatively recent years, perhaps within the memory of most middle-aged men, that silver in five-franc pieces was the standard of value in France, and the coin in most general circulation. Fortunate was the young traveller who had a rough canvas bag with a good stock of them. Since the suspension of the Latin Union, gold has in France silently and steadily taken the place of silver, which, though not actually demonetised, is practically little more than divisional money now. Within less than twenty years, the proportion of five-franc pieces employed has dropped till it is now less than 4 per cent. of the ordinary circulation. Into the reasons which led to the suspension of the Latin Union I need not enter here ; the subject will be referred to later. It is sufficient to say now that the suspension was one of the main causes of the recent fall in the price of silver, and incidentally of the disuse of the larger silver coins in France.

Again, in reference to the specie employed in common life, the departments of France in which the largest proportion of gold is found in circulation are those which are the most backward in economic development ; the proportion of gold in circulation is in inverse ratio to the wealth of the departments.

The circulating medium in France is really a gold circulation, worked for convenience through the medium of notes. The English method is more simple, and adjusts itself automatically to all the wants of the day. Some people have said that the gold stored in the issue department of the Bank of England, where the main stock of the gold held in reserve in this country is kept, is of as little use as if it were at the bottom of a mine. But this is not by any means the case. The gold in the mine is out of sight and inaccessible. It could not be used to meet any immediate requirements. The gold reserve in the Bank of England is the pivot on which all our business turns. Scarcely adequate as it is to present requirements, it has been rightly regarded as the most hard-worked money in the country. It is held to meet any sudden demand that may arise, whether for differences between exports and imports or the balance of a foreign loan or any need of the trade of the country. But between England and

France there is, in this respect, a striking contrast. At the Bank of England the gold held in the issue department varies generally between 32,000,000*l.* and 33,000,000*l.*; at the Bank of France the gold held now ranges from 100,000,000*l.* to 110,000,000*l.* sterling.

The circulating medium in the United States corresponds in character, to a great degree, with that in the United Kingdom; but the former comprises a larger quantity of notes, including both those of the Government and those of the National Banks. To a considerable extent it consists of cheques, which are said to be drawn for even smaller sums than in this country, and certainly are drawn on a far larger number of banks. The banking system in the United States does not follow the same lines as that in the United Kingdom. Here we find a small number of banks with a large number of branches. As years go by, amalgamations among banks in England and Wales are gradually absorbing the smaller banks into larger concerns, exactly as happened many years ago in Ireland and Scotland. In the United States, banks without any branches are the rule; and to this rule there are, at this moment, no exceptions. That arrangement, combined with the enormous area of the United States, has rendered a central clearing house, like that of the London bankers, impossible; but the principle is the same. In this country, all the records kept of the amounts of cheques passed or in circulation show an increasing use of cheques, and an increasingly large number of very small cheques. The same circumstances are believed to be operating in the United States; and naturally so. There is no method of remitting money so economical and so convenient. Wherever introduced, the system is certain, if the conditions are favourable, to expand. The volume of the exchanges of the ninety-eight clearing houses of the United States—for clearing houses are numerous there—amounted in round figures for the year 1904 to over 20,000,000,000*l.* This is much larger than the amount of the London clearing, the deposits of the banks of the United States being fully twice as large. Owing to the number of clearing houses, and the fact that there is no central bank in the United States, with which, as in England, all the clearing banks could keep accounts, the specie employed in settling

the exchanges of the different banks in the United States reaches a large amount; but the principle of the exchanges is the same. With us, cheques on the Bank of England take the place of specie in the settlement of the clearing balances.

While the circulating medium of this country is most convenient, both for those who live within its boundaries and those who do business with us from foreign lands, those of France and the United States fulfil equally well all the conditions required of them. I have quoted the examples of the United Kingdom and the United States as good examples of a circulating medium consisting of cheques, and that of France as a good example of a circulating medium worked through notes. I might also refer to the circulating medium of the German Empire, which largely consists of notes of the Reichsbank. That system differs in various respects from our own, and possesses several features of great convenience to the trade of the country; but the high authorities in Germany, in England, and in France, have followed a policy of hostility to the local note circulations, which labour under serious commercial disadvantages. In Ireland, as well as in Scotland, the local note-circulation still obtains, and is an advantage to the local trader. In the United States, the notes of the National Banks (which are as well secured, both as to payment in specie on demand and as to safety, as any notes can be) are allowed to continue. But to go further into this subject is undesirable, especially as changes in the system of the National Banks are not unlikely.

While we enjoy the advantages of our existing arrangements, just as we use the air we breathe, without a moment's thought, we are apt to forget how great the inconvenience of an imperfect or unstable instrument of exchange would be. Yet, not many years since, considerable difficulties were sometimes experienced in finding the means of making remittances over comparatively short distances. An example of this difficulty is described in a business letter found among the papers of Mr James Turner, of Great Yarmouth, a banker of more than a century since. Mr Turner was practically the founder of the bank of Gurneys and Turner in that town—now Barclays, Limited. The following letter shows the diffi-

sulty, at that period, of remitting even a small sum which had to be paid in completing a purchase of land.

20th September, 1774.

To MR. PHILIP WALKER.

SIR,—I have taken the liberty of informing you that the remaining part of the amount of the marshes neither Mr Symonds nor myself can accept the payment of in Bank or Banker's notes, as turning the same into cash at that time of the year will be attended with a great expense. I thought it proper you should know this; as we took the deposit money in notes, you might naturally imagine we should have no objection to receiving the remainder in like manner. We could between this time and the time fixed for the payment of the money draw upon your friend or his Banker for about £2,000 of the purchase, and our Bill should become due on the 24th day of December next, which is the day fixed for the payment; this would be saving your friend the risque and expence of sending down that sum. We will thank you to communicate this scheme to him, and, if it should meet with his approbation, beg the favour of him to let me know it.

The method of remittance from one part of the country to another by means of bills appears to have been not infrequently employed at that time. James Turner's letters and accounts contain continual references to bills drawn by him at Yarmouth on his correspondent in London, for the convenience of the persons to whom the bills were made payable, in order to enable them to pay amounts which they owed to persons who lived at a distance. The amounts were sometimes quite small, even below twenty shillings. However it may be arranged, some form of the circulating medium is indispensable in order to effect those exchanges without which the ordinary transactions of life cannot be carried on. I will now turn to a different system, with which the local standard of value is closely united.

The story is told of an Englishman who, starting on the 'Grand Tour' of Europe about a hundred and fifty years ago, changed a guinea, then the standard gold coin current among us, into its value in the coinage of the country where he landed. He carefully kept separate what he received in return. Whenever, in his pilgrimage, he crossed the frontier of any state, however small—and Europe was then dotted all over with petty principalities

—he changed the money; with the result that, when he returned to England, the whole contents of the purse in which the guinea had been stored were a few rubbishy coins of practically no value. Though no traveller in Europe would be exposed to the same experience now, there are still countries in which the money-changer holds as high a position as he once did in many ancient cities. In China at the present time the condition of the currency is as chaotic as ever it was in Europe. We are told that in the town of Chungking alone at least sixty recognised currencies exist. The value of the currency in China depends on many elements. The tael, which is the unit, is not a coin but a weight. If it were a fixed and certain weight, like an ounce or a pound in England, that circumstance would be a great assistance towards regulating exchange. But it is an uncertain weight, 544·1 grains in one place and 536·0 in another, with many further variations. It is supposed to be a weight of silver; but the silver may be of different degrees of fineness. Under some conditions absolutely fine silver is used, 1000 fine; under others, 'trade silver,' between 960 and 970 fine, takes the place of 'fine' silver.

How many different currencies there may be in the Chinese Empire it is impossible to estimate. Nothing else could be expected in a country where no regular coinage exists, the nearest approach being the well-known 'cash,' a coin the metal of which consists of copper and as much spelter or zinc (sometimes lead) as the copper will take up. The irregularity of the composition of the metal may be guessed from this circumstance. The traveller has to make his way furnished with a small steelyard and a string of selected 'cash' to act as a standard, with the assistance of which he carries out his exchanges, keeping a record of the comparative value of the silver in use in the places he visits. The silver may be current at several different degrees of fineness, perhaps half-a-dozen. The traveller may have to carry, besides his selected 'cash' and his steelyard, a lump of silver, four pounds' weight of it being probably sufficient to meet immediate needs. If he requires 'small change' in order to pay his way, he breaks a piece off his lump, ascertains the local fineness and rate of exchange for silver, and purchases 'cash,' the value of which he can ascertain by comparison with his string of selected coins. Now in

this country the crown-piece 'in silver' is objected to because of its clumsiness and its weight. The weight of a crown-piece is as nearly as possible an ounce; and, as sixteen ounces go to the pound, four pounds' weight of silver is the equivalent of sixty-four crown-pieces. The inconvenience of carrying about such a bulk of silver can hardly be overrated. If 'cash' are employed instead of silver, the weight is a great deal more.

Yet the cumbrous coinage of China is popular among some classes of traders. The money-changers make their livelihood from the constant traffic, which offers many advantages to those who carry it on. It is a trade in a necessary of life, almost as much in demand as food, and much easier to deal in, as it never spoils through being kept too long, while it is equally certain to be wanted; and yet the whole of this trade—and it is a large one—is a deduction from the profits of the ordinary trader. He cannot dispense with the services of the exchanger, who provides him with what he requires. But it is a secondary industry, one which is not needed where the currency system stands in a sound position. If the government of China ever becomes well organised, the problem of the currency will be one of the first points to be undertaken. Efforts are being made in isolated provinces in this direction. The influence is at present only local; but, if the example of Chang-Chi-Tung, Viceroy of the province of Hu-peh (who has, since the beginning of 1905, issued a silver coin to represent a tael), should spread, the existing chaos may be overcome.

The Commission on International Exchange, which was despatched to China by the United States Government some twelve months ago, forms a part of an effort made by the countries most largely interested in the production of silver to attain something like uniformity, or at least a greater approach to uniformity, in the valuation. The need for this is obvious. The value of silver varies often and greatly. Thus, in 1903, the price rose twenty-six per cent. between January and October, and fell five per cent. between October and December. Such fluctuations impart more or less of a gambling character to all transactions dependent on the value of silver. The countries interested differ widely, and comprise governments as dissimilar as those of Mexico and China. That Mexico

should join in a proposal which aims at bringing silver to circulate at a fixed proportional value to gold far lower than was recently the rule, and should adopt a gold standard, is a proof of the seriousness both of the proposal and of the danger which it is desired to avert. Mexico is the source from which the civilised world has drawn the greatest stores of the most widely diffused precious metal. Yet Mexico recognises the necessity of a fixed value for its most important product, and to secure this is willing to accept a low price for it; and Mexican trade is already improving under the influence of the steadier exchange.

How different is our medium of exchange from that we have been describing! And yet, little as we are conscious of it, variations in the value of our own circulating medium are very great, perhaps as great as, though less inconvenient than, those of China. How seldom do any of us recognise the fact that, though the 'sovereign' which bears the effigy of King Edward VII is identical in weight and fineness of metal with that first coined by his great-grandfather, George III, it varies much in its purchasing power from the coin struck in 1817. Any history of prices points out that this is the case. A glance at the remarkable chart which formed the title-page to the earlier of the two volumes of statistics recently published by the Board of Trade shows the whole course of events during the last century. In that chart, the range of prices was shown to have fallen steadily, with occasional fluctuations, for fully a hundred years. The downward movement has been especially rapid during the last twenty or twenty-five years. Will it continue, and will it go on accelerating at the pace that it has kept up for so long a time? Prices generally are now less than half as high as they were a century ago, when, however, it must be remembered that, owing to the 'Bank Restriction,' inflation had affected all monetary levels. No doubt industrial improvement, the cheapening of means of communication, increased production, and changes in our legislation, e.g. the repeal of the Corn Laws, have affected prices. But the drop has been especially pronounced during times when these influences have been less active; and the movement still continues.

To come to more modern times. We plume ourselves

on the improved position of our working classes, and on the fact that eighty shillings will purchase to-day, roughly speaking, as many of the necessaries of life as a hundred and twenty shillings did thirty years ago. We ascribe this increased abundance to our laws, our habits, and our national qualities. We fail to perceive that this movement is the result of events which affect, in a general way, the course of affairs over the whole world. Stranger still, according to a well-known economic law, the reverse should naturally have been expected. The production of gold during the last decade has exceeded anything historically recorded. It is true that good authorities tell us that every sovereign costs forty shillings to extract and bring to the mint; but, once brought thither, its cost is forgotten, and the sovereigns which issue from the mint influence the markets of the world without any reference to the expense incurred in their production. The whole production of gold in the world from 1492 to 1800, a period of about three centuries, was, according to the best estimates, over 500,000,000*l.* The production during the nineteenth century was 1,500,000,000*l.*, or three times that amount; while, during the last ten years, the amount mined was larger than that raised in the three centuries referred to. Moreover, the production of gold was nearly twenty times as large during the last ten years of the nineteenth century as it had been during the first ten, although those years had been considered at the time as years of extraordinary abundance.

This increase in the stock of gold held in the world might have been expected to raise prices largely. It is difficult for us to conceive how small was the stock of gold in this country at the beginning of the last century. Took supposed that 8,000,000*l.* might 'have remained in circulation in 1800 (an outside supposition).' Between that date and 1816 the stock of gold at the Bank of England never exceeded 7,600,000*l.*; and sums so low as 3,000,000*l.* and even 2,000,000*l.* were not unknown. Our mint practically ceased to work. When it began again to coin gold in 1817, the amount was very small. Between 1817, the year of the resumption of specie payments, and 1829, 44,000,000*l.* were minted, of which rather more than a third was estimated soon afterwards to have been exported or used up in manufactures. The coinage

of England, small as it might be, was almost the only gold coinage of importance at that time. The world now coins gold at the rate of about 50,000,000*l.* a year. It is computed that the production of gold goes on at the rate of fully 70,000,000*l.* a year, with a high probability of a considerable increase. There is a larger number of fields in which gold mines can profitably be worked; the quantity of labour which can be employed on the industry has distinctly increased; and great improvements have been made in the methods of dealing with the ore. It now pays to extract gold from ore which, even in recent times, could not be profitably worked. All this will materially assist to increase the production.

To make the position of matters clearer, I will quote the figures of the amounts of gold estimated to have been in use in the world at different periods.

Gold estimated as existing in 1492	.	.	.	16,000,000
Gold produced between 1493-1800	.	.	.	100,300,000
" " " 1601-1700	.	.	.	121,300,000
" " " 1701-1800	.	.	.	252,600,000
" " " 1801-1900	.	.	.	1,539,400,000*

The year 1492 is taken as a starting point, that being the date of the discovery of America. The stock of 16,000,000*l.*, which is believed to have then existed in Europe, represents all that was left of the huge amounts accumulated in the Roman Empire, held by some to have been not far from 400,000,000*l.* about the time of Augustus. Jacob, whose 'Historical Enquiry into the Production and Consumption of the Precious Metals' is the classical authority on that subject, has shown how rapidly a stock not recruited by fresh supplies from the mines becomes worn out and lost. The diminution appears extraordinary; but Jacob's estimate is fully supported by that of Jevons, who, in his 'Principles of Economics,' regards the life of the precious metals, whether in coin or in the form of plate, as not exceeding two centuries; so evanescent is wealth in its most treasured form. These calculations may help us to understand how large in former years were the accumulations of the precious metals, and how rapidly and entirely they have been dispersed.

* 'Banker's Magazine,' October 1902.

The activity of the mints of the world in coining gold, during the latest ten years of which the operations can be chronicled, has been unexampled. The production of gold, according to the Mint Report of the United States for the ten years 1894-1903, was rather more than 500,000,000*l.* The coinages of gold during that time were, in round numbers, 580,000,000*l.*; and the value of that metal used in the arts and manufactures was 130,000,000*l.* A good deal of old material, jewellery and other things, is used in manufactures; and large quantities of the coin of other countries are continually being recoined. These facts, joined to the probability that the figures as to the production are understated, assist to explain the discrepancy between the figures of the production and the coinage. Of the amount coined during the ten years referred to, the mints of the United Kingdom and Australasia account for more than 150,000,000*l.*, the United States for nearly as much, Russia for over 140,000,000*l.*, Germany for 60,000,000*l.*, France for 30,000,000*l.*, and Austria-Hungary for 32,000,000*l.* These six countries were estimated to hold in 1903 more than 83 per cent. of the whole stock of gold in the world. It is difficult to say how much of the coinage of the last ten years has gone into circulation; but it is highly probable that, taking into consideration the recoinages and the amount used in arts and manufactures, the addition to the active circulation of the world does not exceed half the recorded production, if, indeed, it is as much; and the set-off against this in the diminished use of silver is very large in proportion to the addition to the circulation in gold.

That the coin in current use varies in value, as was mentioned a few pages back, is an idea that occurs to few. But its purchasing power is constantly subject to change. At first sight, this seems incredible. The coin, if unused, remains unaltered; even when in constant circulation the diminution in value from wear and tear is comparatively small. Yet, while the condition of the coin may remain thus stable, its utility, that is, its purchasing power, may undergo great change.

Now, if there is any economic theory which has received a general acceptance, it is the 'Quantity Theory of Money.' Among recent writers, the theory is very ably explained by Dr N. G. Pierson in his 'Principles of

Economics.' Dr Pierson, who has been Prime Minister of Holland and is well known as an economist, states in that book, in the clearest manner, that 'the supply of money determines what the value of money shall be.' According to this theory, prices are determined by the relation between the demand for, and the supply of, money. The demand is expressed by the quantity of goods offered for money, that is to say, for sale. The supply consists of the money in use, whatever the material of which it is made or the form of the pieces which are available. The goods to be exchanged through the instrumentality of money remaining the same, an increase in the supply of money will, according to this theory, raise prices; conversely, a decrease in the supply of money will lower prices. The 'Quantity Theory' of money is, it will be seen from this, simply the application of the general principle that value is determined by demand and supply. There has been much written about the 'Quantity Theory,' and it has been much cavilled at; but 'no one has ever yet seriously undertaken to show what determines the value of money, that is, prices, if supply and demand do not.' It is not to be supposed that the effect on the increase in the quantity of money will follow the exact alteration in the quantity; but so firmly rooted has been the theory in the minds of men, that it was practically the basis of Peel's Bank Act of 1844. However tempting a discussion of Sir Robert Peel's opinions on this subject might be, I must not be drawn aside into considering this point further. It is true that it was the quantity of notes that he desired to control; but it was as representing money that he desired to regulate their quantity. I quote him here merely as a conspicuous instance of the general belief in the truth of the 'Quantity Theory.'

We have seen that there has been a vast increase in the supply of gold, while contemporaneously prices generally have gone down. How, then, are we to account for the fact that this enormous increase in the supply of gold has failed to produce the expected result? A rise in prices was to have been expected. Theory supported this view; and experience shows that, in similar circumstances, a rise has actually occurred. A marked increase in prices followed the discovery of the mines in Australia and the almost coincident opening of the mines

of California. The subject was naturally much discussed. Professor Cairnes wrote on it; and, in France, Michel Chevalier's work, 'La Baisse probable de l'Or,' appeared. The volume was translated by Cobden and attracted much attention. The position of persons in the receipt of fixed incomes became the subject of much discussion; the loss which they would suffer was considered. In some instances salaries were even raised. The result in present circumstances has been very different. I will try to furnish some explanation of this.

It sounds like a paradox, but it is a fact that the vast increase in the stock of gold throughout the world has rendered the influence exercised by additions to that stock slower in coming into action, and smaller in effect. Besides this, in the first place, the increased commercial and industrial activity which followed these discoveries of gold itself caused a fresh demand for money, which has hindered the increase in the amount of gold coin from having the influence which was expected, and prevented prices from rising proportionately to that increase. In the next place, the effect of the increased supply of gold has been diluted by the fact that many countries which had no gold currency before the recent discoveries have subsequently established one, and many other countries which already employed gold have employed it to a larger extent.

The most important factor, however, in the matter has probably been the demonetisation of silver. This has practically caused gold to stand as the main, if not the sole, standard of value in a very large part of the world. The East—taking that description in its largest geographical sense—so long immovable in its habits, has begun to change them, and is now rapidly relinquishing the use of silver as currency. A large part of the gold recently discovered has been employed in making up the deficiency thus caused. Between 1893 and 1903 fully a third of the coinage of gold was required to act as a substitute for discarded coinage of silver.

Silver is dethroned from the position it held when, whether in banter or in earnest, the poet Philips wrote :

‘Happy the man who, void of cares and strife,
In silken or in leathern purse retains
A Splendid Shilling.’

Though the modern shilling contains, within a slight fraction, the same amount of the precious metal as a shilling did in the time of Queen Anne, yet in purchasing power it is an absolutely different thing. The poet's lines remind us what a far greater power in the market the shilling was when silver was the standard of value, and gold, as Locke said, only 'something very like money.' Within the last twenty-five or thirty years, silver has in many countries ceased, to a very large extent, to be used as standard money. The Scandinavian Monetary Union, uniting Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, replaced the silver standard by gold in 1873. At the same date the coinage of silver was suspended in Holland, and in 1875 in the Dutch colonies. That large group of nations which formed the Latin Union—France, Belgium, Switzerland, Italy, and, more lately, Greece—ceased to coin silver as legal tender at various dates after 1875. Then the compensatory action described by Jevons as established by the French Currency Law, which assisted 'to maintain both gold and silver more steady in value than they would otherwise be,' came to an end. In 1893 the mints of India were closed. In 1900 the United States, which had coined silver very largely, adopted the gold standard in use. All this was rapidly followed by a very great drop in the value of silver as expressed in gold.

The value of silver within the last thirty years has fallen till it is worth less than one half what it was thirty years since. The value, roughly 5s. an ounce then, was about 2s. 2d. in June 1905, having been about 1s. 9d. in November 1902. The effect on the rate of exchange between India and England and on the finances of India is well known. The remarks of Lord Beaconsfield, who saw the commencement of the change and foresaw much of the result, on the great influence which the discontinuance of silver as part of the standard of value must have on prices of other commodities, were soon forgotten. The subject of the alteration in prices resulting from the divergence in value between silver and gold was referred to in the Report of the Royal Commission on Agricultural Depression. I cannot now discuss this divergence, and its influence on prices; but I may remark that it was distinctly shown that a depression of prices has accompanied the alteration in the values of the

precious metals. I refer to this as an indication that the effective power of the standard of value has dropped, and that the influence of the vast increase in the supply of gold on the circulating medium has, for the present, been counteracted by the diminution in the use of silver. We may reasonably expect that, in time, the void will be filled, and that prices will return to their previous level.

The importance ascribed, and rightly, by the Government of the United States to the injurious influence of the present want of any fixed agreement between the price of gold and that of silver, and the losses inflicted on business thereby, is shown by the appointment of the Commission on International Exchange, which that Government has recently sent to Europe and to the East to consider this question and to investigate the points of agreement which might be arrived at. The Commission consisted of Mr Hugh H. Hanna, Mr Charles A. Conant (of the Morton Trust Company) and Professor Jeremiah W. Jenks. The composition of the Commission provides a proper representation both of practical business experience and of scientific economic knowledge ; and the publication of Professor Jenks's report will be looked forward to with interest.

To turn from these world-wide subjects to the question of the note circulation of this country may seem out of place to those unacquainted with the working of these forces ; but the connexion between them will be readily seen when we consider what the circulating medium of this country really is. As mentioned before, it consists for the most part of a vast number of cheques, that is to say, of drafts on demand for various amounts, issued on the joint credit of the drawers of the cheques and of the banking houses by which they are payable, the whole resting on a gold foundation, which may probably be about equal in amount to the total general daily circulation, i.e. about 50,000,000*l.* The manner in which our gold reserves are kept prevents any more exact calculation being made. Side by side with this vast cheque circulation there is a demand for the use of notes in business transactions, which arises solely from the fact that in some cases the use of a note is more convenient than the use of a cheque or of coin. The note circulation in England and Wales consists at the present time almost

entirely of notes of the Bank of England. An increase of 1,000,000*l.* in that circulation produces a serious effect on the Bank Reserve. An increase of 10,000,000*l.* in our cheque circulation is scarcely noticed. The country-note circulation in South Britain is rapidly passing away.

The note circulation in Scotland and Ireland consists practically of notes issued, in the case of Scotland by all banks, in the case of Ireland by some banks. But these notes are based on gold in a manner corresponding very closely to the system adopted with the notes of the Bank of England. The plan followed, which was prescribed by the Bank Acts of 1844-45, causes the issues of the Bank of England directly, and those of the Scottish and Irish banks almost as closely, to affect the amount of the reserve of gold held by the Bank of England; for, when more of those notes are required in the ordinary course of business, a corresponding sum in gold has to be drawn from the Bank of England. There are natural fluctuations in the amount of notes required, which thus immediately affects the reserve. The Bank of England is cautious and considerate in dealing with the Scotch and Irish demand; but the requirements recur inevitably, and can only be met out of the reserve.

At the outset of this paper we mentioned the importance of the reserve. Now, besides fulfilling other functions, the amount of the reserve of the Bank of England affects the rate of discount. Changes in this rate, though often unavoidable, are very injurious to many branches of business. That our own methods of carrying on business are well understood on the Continent is shown in 'Das Englische Bankwesen,' by Edgar Jaffé, where they are criticised keenly but in no unfriendly spirit. The other volumes enumerated will be of service in enabling their readers to understand the details of a system of business perhaps not accurately known to them. Occupied as we are with the constant strain of daily work, we scarcely remember that the conditions of business in other countries alter, and sometimes become more favourable than our own.* The changes of rate at

* I may remark that a complete record of the transactions of the Bank of England and of those of the leading 'State' Banks of Europe, a knowledge of which is essential for enabling my readers thoroughly to understand the subject of this article, will be found in my work on 'The Bank Rate and the Money Market.'

the Bank of England have lately been less numerous and less extreme than in some former years; but in France the changes have been much fewer and the rates far more constant. For five years the rate of the Bank of France has remained 3 per cent., while during that time there have been some eighteen or twenty changes at the Bank of England, varying from $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to 5 per cent. For thirty years the rate of the Bank of France has been lower than that of the Bank of England. Holland and Belgium have recently had lower rates than England. The conditions of business are no doubt different; and, though our money market is subject to strains far greater than those to which the markets of other countries are liable, we claim that it is the easiest to work in. But the Bank of France, in its Report for 1904, could boast that within twelve months the gold held underwent a fluctuation of 19,000,000*l.* without a change in the rate, a fact of which any bank might be proud. It is difficult to imagine what the effect would have been had a similar fluctuation occurred at the Bank of England, but it certainly would have been unprecedented. Transactions which can be successfully carried through when a low rate is charged become unprofitable and cannot be undertaken when the rate is high. Industry is hampered and opportunities for employment are reduced. The increasing vehemence of international competition in business and industry renders the importance of an even rate and a low rate for money in this country very pressing. Money is as much a factor in production as materials; and it is most important that our producers should have the use of it on terms as advantageous as their competitors.

The question arises whether anything can be done to diminish the occasional demands for domestic purposes on the reserve of the Bank of England. I have referred in my 'Dictionary of Political Economy' to the demand known under the name of the 'Autumnal Drain,' which records the large sums annually drawn from the Bank of England, both for holiday makers and for harvest labourers. There are other occasional demands which, during the period when the country-note circulation was a practical force in England, were met out of that source of supply. The effect of these was as little noticed as a

temporary fluctuation in our cheque circulation is now. It has sometimes been suggested that the other bankers in England should keep a large reserve of their own, to be placed under the charge of the Bank of England, but to be kept separate from the reserve of that bank. If this were done, could a note-issue of some proportion of that amount be allowed to them? This note-issue would thus be backed by gold; but temporary fluctuations, within limits to be agreed on, might be permitted. Into any further details it is not possible to enter here.

Whether this plan is resorted to or not, one thing is clear, that the demands made by the internal circulation of the country on the reserve of the Bank of England tend to increase the fluctuations of the bank rate; and, consequently, that close attention to the provisions of the Bank Acts which regulate the note-issue has become advisable in the interests of the trade and industry of the country.

More than this, the vast increase in the amount of gold in circulation throughout the world must almost inevitably be followed by requirements for larger quantities of bullion from other countries, and frequently in the form of sudden demands which we must be prepared to meet. The wider ocean is swept more violently by the winds of change, and the waves which ruffle its surface necessarily run higher. Safety to those who navigate the rougher seas is only to be found in the increased strength of the vessel and the skill of the mariners. Yet, without an increase in the strength of the vessel, increased skill may be unavailing. May we but learn the lesson in good time.

R. H. INGLIS PALGRAVE.

Art. X.—THE RIDDLE OF MUSIC.

1. *The Power of Sound.* By Edmund Gurney. London : Smith and Elder, 1880.
2. *Vom Musikalisch-Schönen.* By Eduard Hanslick. Ninth edition. Leipzig : Barth, 1896.
3. *Essai sur l'Esprit Musical.* By Lionel Dauriac. Paris : Alcan, 1904.
4. *Les Rapports de la Musique et de la Poésie.* By Jules Combarieu. Paris : Alcan, 1894.
5. *Die Musik als Ausdruck.* By Friedrich von Hausegger. Munich, 1887.
6. *La Logique des Sentiments.* By Th. Ribot. Paris : Alcan, 1905.
7. *Grundlegung der Ästhetik.* By Theodor Lipps. Hamburg : Voss, 1903.

SOON after the publication of the late Edmund Gurney's 'Power of Sound,' a writer in the 'Contemporary Review' sought not merely to point out the originality and importance of the author's views, but also to stimulate him to seek additional facts and hypotheses in historical or, as we should now pedantically say, genealogical and morphological studies, analogous to those applied to sculpture since the days of Winckelmann, and to painting, quite recently, by Morelli and his disciples. Who knows but that such methods, employed by one so specially gifted, might not have solved the riddle of music, and thereby explained the *how* and *why* of beauty, suggestion, and impressiveness in every other art? That was in 1882. Edmund Gurney died some six years later, having abandoned the riddle of music for other riddles, which are solved, most likely, only by those travellers who never return to teach us. The 'Power of Sound,' that book of such fine accomplishment and splendid promise, has meantime been forgotten; its very title is known to very few among the aestheticians who still set out to discuss anew questions to which it had given a satisfactory reply. And now, after twenty-four years, the writer of the paper referred to above, having re-read Gurney's book, is anxious to estimate what additional light has been shed, or what additional confusion made, about this, which must still be called the riddle of music.

In order to make these difficult matters a little easier by mixing narrative with mere analysis, I must refer to my own studies after the writing of that article in 1882. Finding that Mr Gurney would not resume his musical investigations on the lines I had, perhaps presumptuously, suggested, and aware that my own musical training and opportunities were insufficient for such work, I turned all my attention to the visual arts, and to those branches of psychology which promised to shed light upon them; and, gradually forgetting my claim that music (if studied by Gurney or another like him) might become the typical art with which all general aesthetics would begin, I slid into a lazy belief that music was surrounded by some mystery of its own requiring the application of some method of study not as yet to be guessed at. This was my state of mind when, reading M. Lionel Dauriac's new book, 'L'Esprit Musical,' I discovered, not merely that this writer had brought the riddle of music a step nearer its solution than had been done by Gurney, but, what was far more unexpected, that my own seemingly irrelevant study of the psychology of visual art enabled me to see deeper into the mystery. Once more music appeared to me as the typical art; but, far from its having helped to solve the more intricate problems of the visual arts, it was the attempted solution of some of these, due to the converging work of many psychologists and many art-critics, which seemed to put some meaning into the aesthetics of music. The following pages will embody as much as remains valid of the analyses of Edmund Gurney and his twin critic Hanslick, and as much as seems fruitful of the recent hypotheses of M. Lionel Dauriac, all of which I shall attempt to connect and correct in the light of my own and other contributions to artistic psychology; above all, I shall try to bring these studies of the *modus operandi* of music into line with the most plausible modern system of aesthetics, as explained to the readers of the 'Quarterly Review' in an article on Lipps and other German aestheticians, which appeared in April 1904. We can now pass to the definition and examination of the riddle of music, which is also, with differences of detail and degree, the riddle of all the fine arts.

Music presents two sets of psychological phenomena. It can suggest and stimulate feelings akin to those pro-

duced by the vicissitudes of real life; and it can interest, fascinate, delight, or weary and displease, by what we can only call the purely musical quality of its sound-patterns. Music thus awakens two different kinds of emotion—a dramatic one referred to its expressiveness; and an aesthetic one connected with the presence or absence of what is known as beauty. The close interplay of these two sets of phenomena, and the poverty and vagueness of the nomenclature of aesthetic form, as compared with the richness and definiteness of the vocabulary of human feeling, have resulted, ever since music became matter of reflection, in an extraordinary confusion on the subject.

However much musicians may have felt that there was in their art something more characteristic and more important than its suggestion of human emotion, there grew up, and still exists universally, a habit of speaking and even of thinking of such human emotion as the subject-matter, the significant and noble portion of music; and of the patterns of notes, as merely a more or less agreeable, sensuous, that is to say, soulless vehicle thereof, standing thereunto much as the sound of a word to its meaning. However much this manner of thinking—and, even more, of talking—still furnishes forth the current literature of music, it was cleared away from all serious aesthetical study by Hanslick's splendid essay 'On Musical Beauty,' in which he demonstrated that, whatever its coincident powers of suggesting human emotion, the genius of a composer is manifested in the audible shapes, the musical monuments which he builds up in the soul of the listener. This essay was first published in 1852; and, although there is no appearance of Edmund Gurney having read it, it is more than likely that its essential ideas had been carried beyond Germany by the then raging Wagner controversy, and been assimilated by the English psychologist, in his conversations with other musicians, without his ever knowing who had given the start to his own theories. Be this as it may, one half of the 'Power of Sound' is but a more elaborate restatement of the main propositions of the essay on 'Musical Beauty.' But, while Hanslick was satisfied with a mere controversial argument that the beauty of a composition is not the same thing as its emotional suggestiveness; Gurney added a masterly analysis of the element both of

emotional suggestion and of beauty; and, what was in a manner more valuable still, a rejection of forthcoming scientific explanations as still inadequate to solve the chief riddle of music.

Having thus distinguished the two main powers of music, let us take them in succession and examine the hypothesis concerning each which could be offered twenty years ago and those which may be added to-day. The Hanslick-Gurney attitude had originated, as we have seen, in a reaction against the current assumption that human emotion is the subject-matter of music, and the expression thereof music's essential mission and glory. The first task of the new musical aesthetics was therefore to determine the nature and amount of such emotional expression. A first analysis showed that what passes for such is in part mere impressiveness, music acting on the nerves inasmuch as made up of sound. Why this should be the case is still in part a mystery, though one which physiology may solve to-day or to-morrow. Hanslick to some degree accepted, while Gurney rejected, an hypothesis put forward by Darwin connecting the elemental power of musical sound with the courtship of animals and of primitive man. And Gurney victoriously demolished (though its remains keep cropping up even now) Mr Herbert Spencer's theory that music owed its emotional power to its direct derivation from cries, gesture, and speech. For Gurney pointed out that musical sound is exactly that which differs most from such primitive modes of expression; and that, as the musical intervals and even musical tones are highly artificial and modern, their associational impressiveness cannot be referred to remote periods before they existed; while, with regard to the Spencerian view, which has quite recently been revived by M. Combarieu, even if musical form could be traced back to speech, it would not therefore possess an emotional power greater than that of speech itself. A similar neo-Spencerian hypothesis was formulated by Herr von Hausegger, that music is emotionally impressive because it has inherited, through dancing and declamation, the wholesale expressiveness which primitive man lost when he ceased to display his entire body naked. We must dismiss all such explanations as inconclusive, because they postulate

hereditary transmission where there is no evidence of its possibility; and because the tendency or habit thus accepted as transmissible is not even proved ever to have existed. We have no reason for thinking that our remotest ancestors possessed emotional suggestibility at all sufficient to explain our own. These evolutional or anthropological explanations, moreover, start from a defective conception of the whole phenomenon of musical expression. This, therefore, we now return to analyse.

One of the merits of Hanslick, and even more of Gurney, was the distinction they made between two of the main factors of musical expression—the factor of mere sound, and the factor of sound measurement in time, that is to say, pace and rhythm. Sound as such, and its different varieties of intensity, pitch, and clang (*timbre*), represent an intermittent, and therefore powerful stimulation of comparatively little-used nerves. We are, when awake, always seeing, but by no means always hearing. Moreover, musical sound, being rarer and more complex, having, indeed, been selected and perfected in view to such impressiveness, has an additional appeal of intensity and infrequency. It is possible, also, that further physiological and psycho-physical research may confirm the opinion of M. Lechalas (falling in, as it does, with certain suggestions of Professor Sergi*) that there is an actual intermeshing of the nerves of hearing with those which control the movement of the larger viscera; and sound-impressions may for this reason provoke massive and unlocalisable conditions (in technical language kinesthetic sensations) such as invariably accompany what we call emotion. Be this as it may, we are bound to accept from everyday experience the fact of the great emotional power of the element of mere sound as such. The highest point to which this emotional power can reach through the selection and combination of various clangs and intensities, which not only stimulate doubly by their combination, but solicit the attention by their unexpectedness, has doubtless been reached by Wagner; and we latter-day audiences have every reason to know the power of mere sound upon the soul, perhaps we ought rather to say upon the body.

* Giuseppe Sergi, 'Dolore e Piacere.'

Let us now turn, with Hanslick and Gurney, to the other chief factor of the emotional impressiveness of music, the element of movement. Rhythm exists, regular or irregular, in everything that can be called melody, awaking, fulfilling, or baffling our expectant attention, and in so far exciting emotion. Its emotional power has been lumped with that of mere sound in the various attempts (typified by the Darwinian and Spencerian suggestions) to derive music from the cries and gestures of our half-human ancestors. But the employment of rhythm as an almost hypnotically suggestive producer of emotion, as in the dances, ejaculations, and other ritual proceedings of primitive people, is not an explanation of the origin of rhythm's emotional power, but merely a proof that such a power exists; and of this our own liturgic, military, and artistic employment of it is surely proof enough. It seems probable that the ultimate explanation of this phenomenon must be sought by the same study as the explanation of the emotional power of mere sound as such—the study of our bodily structure and functions; for all organic life is accompanied by rhythm, and all movement implies it. The functions of the heart and lungs, so obviously connected with what we call emotion, are typically rhythmical; and, the more we learn of attention and effort, the more we must suspect that these also exemplify the prevalence of rhythm.

Though different from rhythm, there is indissolubly connected with it in all movement the analogous factor of pace. And here again, while hoping for some physiological explanation, we need for our musical æsthetics nothing beyond the universally recognised fact that degrees of quickness and slowness, like degrees of recurrence of stress and of relief, are intimately connected with all the modes of being of the individual body and soul.

Having got so far, we may now distinguish between the manner in which we are affected by the two main factors of the emotional power of music. Sound, considered either as intensity, as pitch, or as timbre, is a mere stimulant; it heightens and diffuses our sensitiveness, excites or depresses us; it acts upon what we call, rather vaguely, our nervous condition. The influence of rhythm and pace is of a higher order; they do not stimulate, they

compel, forcing our limbs, our feelings, our thoughts, our whole conscious being into their modes, because being is movement, and rhythm and pace are the two chief modes in which all movement is felt; in fact, its measure and pattern. We are, in a sense, passive to the nervous influence of mere intensity and quality of sound; while we obey actively the imperative of rhythm and pace.

To recapitulate—music addresses faculties of more intermittent use and therefore greater sensitiveness than that of sight; it does so with the novelty of intensities and qualities of sound especially elaborated and fraught with the power of the unusual; and this appeal of sound, as such, acts in a manner at once massive and intense, and quite impossible to follow in its action, on large portions of our organism, the nerves of hearing being probably intermeshed with those governing the most constant and sensitive of organic functions; the ear, in some ill-ascertained manner, communicating, as our fathers said, straight with the very seat of all emotion. So far, therefore, we have got a human being—the hearer of music—who has been put in a state of unusual nervous sensitiveness, distinctly streaked with emotional possibilities; the mere musical sounds have fluttered his heart and excited his attention, and, as every one can testify, altered his breathing. This human being thus made specially sensitive is now provoked to one of the most exciting of mental acts (as Professors James and Baldwin have pointed out with reference to animals and infants), that of following movement; and this movement (the movement of these vaguely, powerfully emotional, musical sounds) is of a definite pace and rhythm, compelling the attention, and much of the bodily consciousness, with their irresistible command; forcing with the imperiousness of organic imitations the soul, if not the muscles and limbs, to adjust themselves to move in given modes. What does this mean, save that music, by the mere action of sound, has got the listener in its clutches, is isolating * him from his everyday life and making him for the moment its creature.

These emotional powers of sound, intensity, and

* The isolating action of art has been studied by M. Souriau in his 'La suggestion dans l'Art' (1893), but with a misleading reference to hypnotic phenomena.

variety, and of sound-movement considered as pace and rhythm, were admirably pointed out by Hanslick, and analysed in a masterly manner by Gurney; but, instead of being considered as the basis of musical expression, were pretty well limited by these writers to such action of the mere constituent elements of music on the nerves and the imagination. That musical expression is something more; that, as the world has hitherto insisted, music disposes of the modes of the human heart as well as of the relations of sounds; in fact, that music has an 'emotional subject-matter,' is a notion which has been reinstated in recent aesthetics by the veteran psychologist M. Th. Ribot. This return to the old position is connected with the hypothesis known as that of 'emotional memory,' a hypothesis itself due to the modern tendency to consider movement as a main psychological factor, and to seek for some obscure relation between bodily conditions and states of feeling. M. Ribot claims that, divested from all idea of their accompanying circumstances, emotional states, whether we call them moods or emotions, can leave behind them a memory of themselves, distinguishable to our inner perception and susceptible of being given a name; and that we can remember the feeling of love, hatred, expectation, fear, or disappointment, apart from the recollection of the things that, on any particular occasion, we happened to love, hate, expect, fear, or be disappointed about; a feeling which is separated from its causes and concomitants, and may, by dint of reviving, become in a manner abstract.

This proposition becomes easier to follow if we allow ourselves to forestall a conclusion which most psychologists are shy of approaching, namely, that what we call emotional states are related to various incipient movements of our limbs and to alterations in our organic functions of which, sometimes vaguely, sometimes definitely, sometimes localised, sometimes defying all attempts at localisation, we are more or less clearly conscious. We can understand and accept emotional memory if we thus conceive it as being the memory of alterations in our bodily conditions; not merely of such obvious changes as the altered pulse, the rush of blood, or the constriction, the choking, or faintness which we all connect with states of violent feeling, but of all manner of mysteriously com-

pounded, totally unanalysable and unlocalisable tensions and relaxations, massive and diffuse sensations, which we can describe as pleasant or unpleasant, exhilarating or depressing, harassing or soothing, but whose bodily whereabouts we can barely guess at and never really define.

Taking this as being the intelligible description of the alleged fact of emotional memory, we can easily see how it connects with what we have so far established about the effect of the sound, pace, and rhythm elements in music. We can also agree with the proposition of M. Ribot and his follower, M. Dauriac, that this recollection of mere feeling, so difficult to separate from the accompanying recollection of places, persons, and things in ordinary experience, may be in a way isolated therefrom, and become, in its essential condition, the other main factor—the subjective one—of musical expression. For emotional memory, repeating its special kinds of experience, would naturally become the almost abstract and schematic memory of modes of movement. Now musical pace and rhythm, as we have seen, are merely applications of modes of movement, and, as such, compel reviviscence, and incipient imitation thereof. So that rhythm and pace, without any intervention of images of things, persons, places, or any qualities thereof, awaken a condition of emotional memory which may occasionally transform itself into an actual, that is to say, a dominating emotion; occasionally, for self-scrutiny will surely prove that (for reasons we shall presently elucidate) music seems to deal rather with the dreamy recollections of feelings than with their sharp and overpowering reality. It is in this fashion that musical pace and rhythm can make us expect and be disappointed, advance, cling, or withdraw, be elated or depressed, merely as we keep step to a drum or revolve to a dance measure, without there being any reality or any thought which should make us do these things.

This seems a very jejune proceeding, far from the richness of real musical experiences. But we must reinstate into our description the powers of mere sound, of its unusualness, intensity, and quality, and remember how, thanks possibly to some mysterious intermeshings of functions, these stir our nerves and fill and flood the deepest seats of life. So that the modes of movement and the emotional memory which they awaken possess a

basis of organic excitement unfathomed and complex like that produced by the greatest perturbations of real experience. Nor is this all; for by an inevitable association of functions the emotional memory thus evoked and reinforced by music brings up with it the ideas, the images, the situations which in each individual soul have accompanied in real life similar emotional conditions. Thus it comes about that music, which has no meaning of its own save the vaguest indications of varieties of movement, yet speaks to many of us the secrets of our very heart and life, secrets only the more precious that they *are* our own and told to us in the terms of our own desires and needs, with the imagery of our own joy and suffering.

Such is one of the great functions of music; and, being the one most akin to daily life, most easily described, and therefore thought of, in the vocabulary of general experience, it is the one which occupies most space in all that has been said and written and thought about music, masking, with its familiar facts of human vicissitude, the other great function of music; so that, as we have seen, emotional suggestion (what is called expression) usurps the credit and explains the miracles of musical form with all its beauty, grandeur, and splendour. It was this misconception, as we have seen, which roused the indignation of Hanslick and Gurney; and, in their assertion of the supremacy of the neglected half of the art, caused them almost to deny the reality, or at least the value, of that expressiveness which others alleged to be the highest of musical merits.

Hanslick and Gurney already made it clear that these two powers of music are far from being identical or commensurate; nay, that they tend to stand (and we shall later understand why) in inverse ratio to one another. For not only can the same degree of emotional suggestiveness be attained by compositions of wholly different musical merit—a trivial accordion tune, a waltz upon a barrel-organ, or some cheap military march, sometimes stirring the affections more than a masterpiece of Bach or Mozart—but, what is more significant, this emotional appeal of music is usually greater with half-attentive and self-engrossed listeners than with real musicians following attentively each complex and co-ordi-

nated beauty of a great composition. So that, while writers on music, from the prefaces of Gluck to the pamphlets of Wagner, and from Hegel to Schopenhauer, have spoken of the suggested emotion as the real meaning of music, and of the form as an elaborate appeal to the senses, it has become evident, since the analyses of Hanslick and Gurney, that emotional suggestion is largely a question of nervous stimulation, of sentimental or sensual habit, and of diffluent and highly individual imagination; whereas the form, the pattern or structure of sounds, requires for its appreciation the steadiest attention and most loving co-operation, and for its creation the exceptional gifts of a master and the accumulated tradition of centuries.

The greater dignity of the element of form in music is gradually being accepted even by writers on aesthetics, as it has been, since the beginning of time, the basis of all the practical judgments of musicians themselves. We may therefore turn to this second and more noble half of the art, and ask, as Gurney did twenty years ago, and as M. Dauriac has asked lately, how musical form can affect us as beautiful or not; and how, apart from all coincident emotional suggestion, it should affect us at all.

The principal merit of Gurney's great work consists in his examination of the various answers to this question, and the splendid sincerity with which he was content to dismiss them, each and all, as insufficient. The problem of musical form admitted, truly enough, of no answer, however hypothetical, at the time when Gurney wrote his book. But this was mainly because the problem of form in music had not been identified with the problem of form in the other arts; indeed because aesthetic form and its perception had not been disentangled from the elements of recognition and suggestion, of what is called 'subject' or 'representation,' even in painting and sculpture.

The older aesthetics—and the older aesthetics remain, of course, everywhere still clogging the new—explained the beauty of a picture or a statue by the beauty of the object which that picture or statue undertook to represent, in other words, of which the form or pattern of that picture or statue awakened a recollection. For, even as in music the audible pattern was confused with the suggested emotion, so, to a still greater extent, the

visible pattern of the arts of the eye was supposed to consist in the object represented; and, as the musician was supposed to arrange not so much sounds, as feelings, so the plastic artist was supposed to copy and arrange not shapes but things. The beauty of the work of art having been identified with that of the represented object, this beauty of the represented object had to be explained by fitness for a purpose, by fidelity to a type, by moral, social, or physiological desirability; in short, by various explanations, some of them applicable in side issues. The explanation least frequent among philosophers was that the beauty of the represented object depended on its particular lines, planes, and proportions. For philosophers understood that it would have been no explanation to reduce the unknown quality, beauty of form in a picture or statue, to the same unknown quality, beauty of form in the man or woman, plant, animal, or landscape which the picture or statue represented.

But the common-sense of the multitude clung to this tautological explanation simply because it implied the recognition of an independent quality of beauty. And this inveterate tendency to imagine, therefore, that a beautiful picture or statue must be the picture or statue of a beautiful person or thing, has done æsthetics the service of showing that there exist quite frequently un-beautiful representations of beautiful realities, and *vice versa*; and, therefore, that beauty of form, in and out of art, is an independent phenomenon, requiring special study. This study has, so far, barely begun, and, as might have been expected, it has made most progress in the case of arts whose beauty cannot be referred to that of the thing represented, because they happen to represent nothing, the arts of mere pattern, pottery, textile and other decoration, and above all, architecture; though even here there has been an obstinate attempt to explain the quality of beauty by considerations of utility and of mechanical constructive stability.

The question, however, has remained: why, of two equally useful pots or weapons or garments, of two equally well-engineered buildings, should one be universally recognised as more beautiful than the other? Thus, in the arts addressing the eye, there has arisen and defined itself the same problem which Gurney found con-

fronting him so enigmatically in his analysis of musical preference : the problem why, apart from every coincident influence, there are qualities of form which attract and satisfy, and other qualities of form which dissatisfy and repel. This is the main, the essential and distinctive problem of all æsthetics ; and to this psychology will have to return over and over again, when the other musical problem of emotional suggestiveness, and every similar secondary problem in other arts, shall long since have been resolved.

We cannot, therefore, hope at present for anything beyond speculation on this subject. But readers of this Review may remember a discussion (already referred to) of the hypothesis by which German psychologists, especially Professor Lipps, have tried to explain the effect of mere beauty of form, or its reverse, upon the soul. Briefly summed up, and altered according to the present writer's notions, the most probable explanation is as follows. Putting aside all suggestion (resemblance) of already known objects, all utility, all mechanical stability, and all moral or logical reasons of preference, we must postulate that visual form has no material existence, but is a quality attributed by our mind to visible things, a varying combination, not, as is usually supposed, of materials, but of spatial relations coming under the headings of lines and planes. The perception, as we call it, of such form, that is to say, of such relations between various parts of the seen object among themselves, involves on the beholder's part acts of measurement, comparison, and judgment (expressed in the terms of height, length, depth, direction, accent, symmetry, unity), and, in so far, a reference to our own existence in space, all such notions of proportion and dimension being derived from our own movements. In perceiving form, that is to say, in realising its constituent spatial relations, dimension, direction, proportion, and accent, we are attributing to the seen object modes of our own existence ; and these modes of existence are modes of various expenditure of energy.

Hence we think of visual forms as doing actions, or suffering them, similar to those which we do or endure ; the mountain is said to rise or lift itself, the arch spans, the column strives upwards or carries, the entablature presses down, the vaulting shafts soar, the angles jut

out, the curves swell; whereas, as a mechanical fact, the material masses are doing nothing of the sort, sometimes (as in the case of the mountain) doing the reverse; nay, in sculpture, the material masses exist by merest cohesion, and in painting they are mere different pigments on a flat surface. These various activities thus felt to exist in visual form are thus energies of our own, called up in us by our taking stock of certain spatial relations, and our explaining these in terms of our own existence in space; and, the livelier our realisation of these relations which constitute form, the more really present are the modes of motion thus thought of—the life attributed to the form—the various activities and passivities becoming commensurate with our life, because it is our life which is being summoned up to explain the existence of the form. So that, according as the form forces us to conceive it in varying kinds and degrees of activity, we actually feel in ourselves, by what has been styled an act of 'inner mimicry,' those kinds and degrees of activity; we experience, however little localised, the efforts and resistances, the tensions and relaxations, the pushing, pulling, and yielding, the lifting and pressing, the dividing and uniting, the balancing and the toppling, the starting and the stopping; in fact, the modes of being, various, complex, unified or separated, languid or vivacious, easy or effortful, smooth or jerky, fitful or continuous, which we have thus evoked; and these modes of being, in their elements or combinations, are such as either corroborate or contradict the paces and rhythms of our existence.

Paces and rhythms. We have applied these terms, 'paces' and 'rhythms,' to both kinds of forms, because we wish to emphasise the fact that there is no irreducible difference between the form existing through the eye and the form existing through the ear; we wish to establish that it is not true that the one exists solely in space and the other solely in time. The objects which visual form suggests (or as we say, represents) have a bodily existence independent of our act of seeing them, and so have the materials in which the form is, in the current phrase, embodied; but these objects and these materials are not the form. While the models for the statue or the picture, and the marble and pigments, may exist immov-

able and indestructible in the world outside us, obeying no laws save those of mechanical stability, the form of the statue or picture exists only in our act of reconstituting it through measurement, comparison, and reference to dimension and direction. Visual form is not printed on our mind like the image on our eye, but followed and grasped by the mind, separated into its parts by analysis and comparison, and gathered up as a whole by an act of reconstruction, parts and whole being reviewed in various references to each other, successively and together, like the parts of the whole of a piece of music, which we know to be successive because their embodying sounds do not coexist, but which we feel to be in a way coexistent because we refer the successive sounds to one another, and compare, group, make them exist all at once, in our mind. Musical form and visual form have in common the essential fact of requiring a creative and recreative action of the mind, both being combinations of modes of movement and force, both being referable to our experiences of effort, impact, resistance, direction, velocity, and rhythm, both existing as phenomena of perception and appreciation in the element of time.

Nor is this all. Psychological analysis is forcing upon us a paradox more startling than this of visible form existing in time. For, as M. Lionel Dauriac has the immense merit of pointing out, it would seem also that musical form exists, in a manner, in space. The notion of music existing only in time is due to the fact that sounds, having no body, cannot occupy space which is occupied by material existences ; notes cannot be located in the same medium as the fiddles and pianos which are used to produce them. Music is movement ; and movement, we are told, exists in time. But, on examination, we shall recognise that, although its duration is measured by time, movement exists quite as much in space, and cannot indeed be conceived apart from the space which it traverses.

Musical movement, considered as existing in time, has pace and rhythm. But pace and rhythm do not suffice to differentiate movement ; and there may be millions of melodies representing the same combinations of pace and of rhythm, which yet remain totally different. To

define any individual combination of musical motion we require something more than the *how* of pace and rhythm; we require also the direction in which these sounds are moving, the ups and downs in what we call the scale, the intervals of pitch; the *where* of the movement. The *where* of all movement is what we mean by space; and in this sense music requires space as much as the visual arts. For, on the model of the space giving a *where* to the movements of our own and other bodies, we have constructed other kinds of space in which to locate other kinds of movement. Thus we speak of the present as 'here,' the future 'in front,' the past 'behind' us; certain verbal forms are called oblique, others direct; which shows that we conceive all change as analogous to bodily movement, and in terms of spatial dimension.

It is in a similar fashion that we have constructed an immaterial space for sound, a space wherein sound moves at various paces and with various rhythms, a space possessing its own dimensions, that is to say, its possibility of direction in movement. The fact that the production of certain tones is accompanied by sensations in the higher portions of the vocal apparatus, and that of others in the lower parts thereof, has established a sound-dimension of height which the immemorial habit of producing similar sounds on laterally-placed strings or pipes has not succeeded in contradicting in our perceptions; and the production of simultaneous sounds irrespective of such heights, but only by the addition of other strings, pipes, or singers (i.e. other lateral existences), has furnished the musical equivalent of the third dimension of space, the dimension of coexistent adjoining things, of cubic existence. This immaterial sound-space, with its dimensions of height and depth, is the field of musical movement. It has been subdivided by every race into musical intervals, into some kind of scale system, due primarily to the juxtaposition of sounds in their vocal production (for the voice's limits have taught us to think in fractions of neighbouring tones), and secondarily to the acoustic compatibilities of several notes.

Nor will this account of 'musical space' and its probable origin appear surprising to those who, having analysed the conception of visual or tactile space, are aware that this conception is derived from the experience

of movement; and that, by analogy, wherever we meet movement we construct some sort of space for its different modes. If this imitation by our auditive experience of the more obvious space, due to the combined experience of our muscles and our eyes, if this secondhand origin of sound-space should run counter to certain *a priori* notions of the eternal and immutable nature of human faculties, it may be pointed out that, although the employment of tones and rhythms is older than the human race, the establishment of our own musical system, that is to say, the possibility of music similar to ours, is a matter of, at the most, four or five centuries.

Musical space and its subdivisions are the most recent of the categories of perception, because they are the product of centuries of non-utilitarian experiments, of movements of sound which were still incredibly limited and hesitating at a time when the arts of the eye were fully developed, when certain kinds of sculpture and painting had reached their highest, and when the third great European architecture, that of the ogive, was already past its prime. Nay, it is hardly over-fanciful to conjecture that, if music is the latest comer among the arts, it is because the sense of form, that is to say, the habit of active perception of spatial relations, required to be developed in everyday fields of experience before it sought equally complex creation in the bodiless regions which man has constructed as the dwelling-place of sounds.

The foregoing analysis of time and space in relation to sound is no attempt to solve the riddle of musical form, and of the passionate satisfaction and dissatisfaction which, apart from all suggestion of human vicissitudes, it can produce in us. For the riddle of visual form is quite as great; and, if we have established their similarity, it is less because the two riddles may throw light upon each other than because their ultimate solution must probably be sought in the same order of facts; the pleasure or displeasure of seen or heard forms depending, in all probability, on the activities put out in the perception of dimension, direction, pace, rhythm, impact, proportion, and their mysterious combinations, order, interdependence, and design, and with the deeply organised habits and preferences connected with such an

output of human energy. In this direction would seem to lie the explanation of the riddle of musical, as well as of linear and plastic, in short, of every kind of aesthetic form. But the explanation can be expected only from the general progress of the science of mind, and also from analytic and comparative studies of varieties of form and their aesthetic perception, studies which have hardly been attempted or thought of hitherto.

Before recapitulating the contents of this paper, it is desirable to establish clearly in the reader's mind the essential difference between the *modus operandi* of what we have distinguished as the emotional-suggestive elements of music and the aesthetic-formal elements. It seems probable that both these halves of the art owe their power, partly at least, to the fact that movement is perceived by an act of sympathetic imitation of its main characteristics; and that this active co-operation puts the co-operating soul into conditions which, like most others implying movement, are accompanied by certain emotions. The distinction to be made between such co-operation in the case of the suggestion of human affections, and in the case, on the other hand, of aesthetic satisfaction or dissatisfaction, may be summed up as follows. Human emotion, that is, emotion such as is produced by our personal vicissitudes, is suggested and awakened by music because we associate experience of such emotion with certain peculiarities of pace and rhythm; because this suggestion is brought home by the effect of mere musical sound, its intensity and quality, upon large tracts of the nervous system and on those viscera which are always involved in emotional disturbance; and because this human emotion is reinforced and defined by the awakening of our emotional memory, reproducing in us, at the bidding of music, such states as joy, sadness, fury, tenderness, reluctance, surprise, etc., and with these states the image, the associated qualities of things and circumstances connected therewith in our experience. The whole process is extremely personal, since it depends, not merely upon the emotional-nervous susceptibility, but upon what is even more varying, the emotional experience and memory of each individual listener; and this is why the same piece of music, particularly if unaccompanied by words, will have a different emotional

meaning to different individuals, and to the same individual in different circumstances.

So much for the process of musical expression. The *modus operandi* of musical form is different. The activities it awakens are of an impersonal nature; those of measuring, comparing, combining, dividing, in fact, of grasping the modes of being which we attribute to something not ourselves. For this reason the appreciation of musical form has been described by various philosophers as an intellectual exercise resembling mathematics. But, while the activities implied in the following, the reconstructing, of musical form (as of any other) are distinctly projected away from ourselves on to the foreign existences and qualities (so that we think, not 'I like this,' but 'this is good'), they remain activities of our own, involving effort and expectation, yielding and resistance, tension and flexion, separating and uniting; and they have the emotional quality of pleasure and displeasure accompanying all conscious output of energy, although that pleasure and displeasure are contemplative in nature, and are referred, not to alterations in ourselves, but to qualities outside.

To sum up. The main difference between the human emotion produced by the associational, the memory-awakening suggestiveness of music and what we may now call, without fear of misunderstanding, the aesthetic emotion produced by the appreciation of musical form, is that the first kind of emotion is essentially personal, the second essentially impersonal; that the first leads away from the music to the experience and interests of the hearer, while the second adheres to the music with an exclusiveness proportionate to the purely aesthetic delight; that the first is as various as the emotional experience and condition of the individual hearer, while the second is as unchanging as the form-quality of the composition. Finally, that while the first is favoured by nervous excitability, weakness of attention, and the presence of vague feelings of self, in fact, by inferiority, momentary or permanent, of psychic power and organisation; the second, on the contrary, demands a braced heightening of nervous tone, a resistance to random stimulation, a spontaneity and steadiness of attention, a forgetfulness of self and interest in the not-self, in fact,

a vigour and organisation of soul approaching to the magnificent wealth and unwavering self-forgetfulness of all spiritual creation.

This difference, once grasped, will explain why, from time immemorial, music has been considered sometimes as an art which enervates and demoralises, sometimes as one which disciplines, restrains, and purifies ; why music, and not any other art, has been allegorically represented as the flute of Dionysos and his satyr Marsyas, awakening rapture and anguish and driving to orgiastic madness ; and as the lyre of Apollo, which, in the hands of his sons, tames the beasts of the wilderness, builds the walls of the city, and wins the lost soul back from the shades.

This main difference will also explain why, as observation seems to prove, the two powers of music are exercised most often in inverse proportion. For, whereas the absorption in musical form, in the composer's thought, removes the attention from our own past and present experience, a state of emotional day-dreaming is, on the contrary, fostered by imperfect listening to music ; our memories, our vague self-feeling, fill up the empty spaces whenever musical attention lapses, stimulated as they are by the power of mere sound and rhythm, and unchecked by the practical concerns of everyday life. Moreover, musical memory is proportionate to musical attention ; and, whereas a musician will carry with him in remembrance the exact facsimile of a song or even a symphony, the less musically gifted or trained person will, after a performance, find himself with no recollection at all save of the feelings and thoughts which had mingled for him with the music ; and he will be able, if a writer, to describe the soul of Beethoven or the joys and sorrows of Tristram, whereas the real musician would be able to write down nothing save the actual notes he had heard.

Such is the dualism and contradiction inherent in music. But, in the vastly greater number of cases, the contradiction is resolved ; and the dualism appears as a complete fusion of the two elements, the emotional and the æsthetic. This is the case largely because the vocal apparatus is not only the typical musical instrument, but, even more primarily, the organ of speech ; and there is added therefore to music, if not the actual presence, at all events the habitual recollection of words—

words whose definite meaning and logical arrangement put order into our confused emotional states, and carry the mind away from ourselves to objective existences and actions, to something corresponding to that existence outside ourselves of the composer's musical patterns; so that the notes become the speech of imaginary persons, and their combinations represent the souls, nay, almost the persons, of lovers and heroes and saints.

In this fusion, or rather this oscillation between the emotional suggestion and the æsthetic contemplation of music lies, perhaps, the moral and social function of the art. For, whether a composition affect us as a beautiful and noble æsthetic experience, faintly tinged, vividly tipped, with some human emotion; or whether it affect us as an emotional experience kept within the bounds of æsthetic order, shaped in æsthetic beauty, by the presence of musical form—whichever of the two possibilities we consider, there remains an action of the æsthetic element upon the emotional; and the emotional is probably purified by the æsthetic, as the æsthetic is unquestionably brought deeper into our life by the emotional. Music, in a manner more obvious and efficacious than the other arts, disposes of modes of movement and being; and it is gain to the individual soul, and to the aggregate souls of societies and races, if, freed every now and then from the hurry and confusion, the tentative and abortive effort, of practical life, and saved at the same time from the pursuit and the suspense of intellectual existence, our emotions, our moods, our habits of feeling, are schooled into the ways of lucidity and order, of braced and balanced intensity, of disinterested satisfaction, of contemplative happiness, which are the ways of æsthetic form, the ways of beauty. We may interpret in this sense, rather than in the original one of Hegel, the old notion, explained and renewed by Walter Pater, that 'all art tends to the condition of music.'

VERNON LEE.

Art. XI.—THE UNEMPLOYED AND THE POOR LAW.

1. *Lectures on the Relation between Law and Public Opinion in England during the Nineteenth Century.* By A. V. Dicey, D.C.L. London : Macmillan, 1905.
2. *Report of the Central Executive Committee of the London Unemployed Fund, 1904–5.* London : King and Son, 1905.
3. *The Poor and the Land: a Report on the Salvation Army Colonies, etc.* By H. Rider Haggard. London: Longmans, 1905.

PUBLIC opinion has assumed that there is something wrong with our Poor Law. The late Government, evidently sharing this view, has, by the Unemployed Workmen Act of last session, relieved the poor-law authorities of that part of their duty which has always been most difficult, and, shortly before going out of office, appointed a Royal Commission to enquire into the subject.

This public opinion is a strange and composite thing; and, as Prof. Dicey has shown in his recent volume, its relation to legislation is a most suggestive and interesting theme. It must often have appeared, to those who have devoted themselves closely to the study of some public question, extraordinary and inexplicable how, suddenly, like a bolt from the blue, a passionate spirit of controversy and excitement seizes on the subject to which they have been vainly for many years trying to attract attention. The question of the unemployed is not new; it has been the principal, if not the only, difficulty of poor-law administration from the time of Elizabeth to the present day. It is alleged now to be specially pressing.

At such times, it is unpopular to insist on the fact that the subject has a history; and the temptation to prophesy smooth things, which even Balaam resisted, has its attraction. It is to be hoped, however, that public opinion, which is the decisive force in all political action, will steady itself in face of the great difficulty of the subject, and will not refuse to consider the experience of the past. The purpose of this article is not controversial; its object is to analyse into its component parts the murmur of dissatisfaction with which the Poor Law is now assailed. Hitherto the 'experts' have been apologists for the English Poor Law, but at present there

seems to be some change of front. It will not be without interest to trace, as one element of the whole, the development of this particular phase of opinion.

Prof. Dicey has devoted some space to explaining the connexion between the Benthamite philosophy and the Radical policy of the beginning of last century, of which the Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 was a very conspicuous achievement. Lord Brougham, an ardent Benthamite, represented the extreme *laissez-faire* doctrine when he embarrassed his colleagues by delivering, in support of this Act, a vigorous philippic against all poor laws; but Bentham himself had never adopted this view. As a practical man, he had a shrewd eye to administrative efficiency when the force of circumstances made it necessary to admit the intervention of the State. As a lover of liberty, he accepted the independence and self-maintenance of the poor as an ideal; but, if the State has to interfere, this ideal must be safeguarded by a carefully considered and scientific method of procedure. He made a strange proposal to be himself a contractor for the maintenance of the pauper population, in an institution which he called a 'Panopticon,' a building radiating from a central conning-tower, in which the director himself was to sit. He actually entered into a contract with the Government for this purpose, and was awarded a large sum as compensation when the plan failed to be carried into effect.

This idea of Bentham's, with modifications, undoubtedly supplied the principle of the institutional test of destitution which is the keystone of the new Poor Law. In contradistinction, therefore, to Brougham, though in complete accordance with the view of their common master, the late Sir Edwin Chadwick (whose discipleship with Bentham was most close and personal) always professed himself a strong opponent of '*laissez-faire* in legislation,' notably in a pamphlet published in 1885, with a long but interesting title, 'On the Evils of Disunity in Central and Local Administration, especially with relation to the Metropolis; and also on the New Centralisation for the People, together with Improvements in Codification and in Legislative Procedure.' Chadwick was a dexterous controversialist, and his repudiation of *laissez-faire* was something akin to a jettison of

unnecessary ballast. What he wanted was efficient administration—administration, that is, directed to a clearly conceived object, and carried out by the aid of machinery scientifically calculated to achieve that end. This is the core of the Benthamite contribution to the problem.

The Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834 was designed to fulfil these two conditions. It threw on the able-bodied population the responsibility for their own maintenance, which, as Lord Brougham vehemently argued, had been improperly assumed by the local authorities. As Mr Dicey (p. 187) justly remarks, ‘the New Poor Law reformed the social condition of the labourers, and placed poor relief under the supervision of the State’—in distinction, that is, from the local authorities. The object of the reformers included also the second condition insisted on by Chadwick, namely, that the supervision should be effective, and scientifically directed to develop the liberty and independence of the labourer.

The failure of the Act, in so far as it is admitted to be a failure, is due, in the opinion of those who still hold by the Benthamite tradition, to the fact that this last condition has not been observed. Admirable machinery was created to carry out the policy which inspired Chadwick and his friends; but the administration and working of that machinery was entrusted to local authorities, which only in very rare instances understood or appreciated the principles and object of the Act. The political exigencies of the time, and of the subject, made it necessary to leave very wide powers—it is hardly an exaggeration to call them even legislative powers—to the local administrative bodies; and in many places they have used this power to legislate themselves back into the old order of the unreformed Poor Law.

This policy of entrusting the execution of a scientifically conceived Act to popularly elected local authorities was contrary to the wishes of Chadwick, its principal contriver. To the end of his long life he never ceased to complain that his plan—the plan consciously or unconsciously derived from Bentham—never had a fair trial, because its working was not confided to trained, salaried, and therefore responsible officials. Nassau Senior also, who, with Chadwick, was the author of the new Poor Law, frequently expressed the opinion that,

owing to the faulty administration of the Act, the whole of the work of 1834 would have to be done over again. Those who have inherited the opinions of this earlier school have sorrowfully to admit that the forecast of these reformers was only too accurate.

While this section of what we may call instructed opinion admits the failure of the Act, there are one or two qualifications which, in its opinion, should be put on record. The Poor Law Amendment Act was, in its way, a unique piece of legislation. It was, in effect, an abdication by the national Parliament in favour of a nominated body of commissioners, for the purpose of giving local effect to certain principles of administration. It is usual and quite correct to speak of the spirit of the Act of 1834; but the spirit of the Act is not so much in the Act itself as in the recommendations of the Commissioners of Enquiry (1832-4). These recommendations had, of course, no legal validity, until, as was expected, they were embodied in orders of the new Executive Commission of Control appointed under the Act. The task of obliging the local boards to adopt a certain theoretical view of their duties, and to act upon it, was perhaps an impossible one. It certainly has never been effectually carried out. When the new policy had given relief, as it undoubtedly did, from the most pressing evils of the old law, the depauperising policy recommended by the Report became less necessary; the natural friction of resistance brought movement in the direction advocated by the Commissioners to a standstill; and, when from time to time pressure has again arisen, of a nature not dissimilar to that from which the Act of 1834 gave the country relief, a reactionary policy has been adopted.

In certain localities, owing in most cases to the need of meeting great local pressure and to the fortuitous appearance of some administrator of clear views and resolute character, the local authority has of its own accord (never by the peremptory order of the central authority) carried out to their logical conclusion the principles embodied in the Report of 1832-4. It is admitted that such cases are very few. Still, the policy of the Commissioners has been in these districts maintained without difficulty for more than a quarter of a century; and those who favour it think themselves justified in saying

that the experiment has ceased to be an experiment, and has become a demonstration. The success of that policy, where it has been fairly tried, should, it is argued, be compared with the difficulties which have admittedly arisen where local authorities, setting the principles of 1834 at defiance, have chosen to be a law unto themselves in matters relating to the relief of the poor.

Our space does not permit a detailed description of these experiments in depauperisation ; and it is the less necessary, as they are familiar to all who are seriously interested in the question. They have been carried out in Whitechapel and St George's-in-the-East, in the rural union of Bradfield, and elsewhere. As the result of a definite policy adopted about 1870, which may be briefly described as based on a firm adherence to the principles of the Poor Law Commissioners' Report, pauperism in Whitechapel was reduced to one fourth, and in the more fortunately situated union of Bradfield, to about one tenth, of its dimensions at that date.

The circumstances which have permitted these successful experiments to be made and maintained are, as we have said, fortuitous and exceptional ; and it has to be admitted that a law which has produced satisfactory administration in only a few places cannot be regarded as a satisfactory solution of the problem. Still, these experiments have stood, in some instances, for more than thirty years—a proof, it is argued, that, when once adopted, they are not felt by a popular electorate to be unduly oppressive. In the metropolitan unions named, and in those which make any approach to the same system of administration, there has been no pressure from the able-bodied unemployed ; and there are practically no really able-bodied paupers in their workhouses.

In such unions as those of Poplar and West Ham the opposite system has been followed. The boards have there been captured by the socialist party. They have made full use of their legislative powers ; and, in a small way, they have endeavoured to inaugurate the socialist State, under conditions, it must be admitted, which render success obviously and absolutely hopeless. We mean that the socialist State may be possible if the State undertakes the organisation of established and well-staffed industries ; but only disaster and confusion can arise from

experiments, like that attempted in Poplar and elsewhere, where the public authority holds out an invitation to the less competent of all classes, and promises to organise for their employment some new form of industry which is not being attempted by the free industrial population. This is what has been going on in these districts for many years past; and the burden of expectant and unsatisfied applicants is cumulative. The most serious feature of the situation is that the distress is no longer alleged to be exceptional. The evil is said, truly enough, to be chronic. Summer and winter alike the congestion of the less competent grows; and the authority has absolutely no means of satisfying it. The unions have reached the limit of their financial resources. The demand, therefore, is made for access to metropolitan or even national funds; but those who advocate this step can show no appearance of finality in the demand which this policy creates. This is not poor-law administration; it is a parochial introduction of socialism. If the experiment is to be carried to its legitimate conclusion, it is a stupendous adventure, of which the end can only be the bankruptcy of our present industrial order; and that perhaps is the deliberate object of some of those responsible. The country as a whole, however, is not prepared for this desperate revolutionary proposal.

The question then may be asked—is the national Legislature performing its duty to the country at large when it permits subordinate local bodies to inaugurate and persevere in a policy which has created a situation so unmanageable and so dangerous? The whole question of the efficiency of local government is at stake. Mr Balfour pointed out to the deputation of the unemployed, in reply to their demand for a metropolitan or national rate, that, while there was much to be said for regarding pauperism as a national charge, it was manifestly impossible to allow a local authority to spend a national rate. If we have a national tax or rate we must have a national administration.

These considerations qualify the admission of failure made by the apologists of the present Poor Law. They do not dissent from the opinion of its authors, that the country may safely guarantee a maintenance to the destitute, provided that, as a safeguard, the condition

of the person so relieved shall always be made inferior to the condition of the independent labourer. The enforcement of this condition is a matter of some difficulty; for, even when it is borne in mind, guardians fail to carry it out; while, in the great majority of cases, it is ignored or repudiated, and the supervision of the State, the partial remedy introduced in 1834, has been quite powerless to uphold it. It is proved, moreover, by irrefragable evidence, not to be impatiently set aside on the ground that it is old and out of harmony with modern aspirations, that districts can be depauperised by an adherence to this maxim and, on the other hand, can be involved in the direst confusion when that principle is set at defiance. With these reservations, therefore, the representatives of the older view now admit that the administration of the law is hopelessly faulty, and they welcome the proposal to hold an exhaustive enquiry.

In the pamphlet cited above, Chadwick indicated a definite policy in the phrase, 'the new centralisation for the people.' It is for statesmen to decide whether this is a practicable recommendation. If a firm, continuous, uniform, and judicial administration is desirable, it is difficult to see how it can be secured unless by some measure of centralisation. There is nothing in the nature of democracy to preclude it from adopting centralised management in matters where such a course promises to be more efficient. The present position is bad, but not intolerable; if it cannot be amended in the way indicated, by the establishment of a trained and responsible administration, we frankly confess we see very little hope of improvement. To give our present administrators more funds and larger powers will only enable them to give additional point to the saying that we can have exactly as many paupers as we choose to pay for.

The precedent which the late Government had in its mind when it appointed the present Royal Commission was that earlier Commission of 1832-4 whose Report has so largely dominated the discussion of poor-law economics ever since. Unfortunately the different circumstances which now surround the subject make it very doubtful whether public opinion can be influenced as it was in 1834. In the first place, things are not so bad now as they were, when the Commission literally stood between

England and social bankruptcy. The pressure is now confined to places where the old Poor Law has been more or less restored, and the need of a drastic policy of rescue, therefore, is not universally acknowledged. The Commission of 1834 was a small Commission of nine members, of whom only two seem to have taken an active part. The Commission took no oral evidence, as is the custom with Commissions now, but appointed assistant Commissioners, educated men who were sent round to collect, sift, and epitomise evidence. The Commission relied on their reports, and did not waste its time in hearing and cross-examining the host of impracticable faddists who, on such occasions, are so eager to tender their advice. The Commission was composed of business-like men, and did not include, as is now customary, all the rival controversialists who beset the subject. What was still more important, it contained two men who knew what ought to be done; while the remaining seven had the good sense to accept their findings. Some years earlier, Chadwick had attracted the attention of Bentham by a series of papers on the French system of local government, and had more or less definitely worked out the idea of a centralised control. Nassau Senior was a distinguished economist, who, like Malthus and Ricardo, appreciated the danger of an unlimited Poor Law; and he saw in the proposals of Chadwick a means of introducing safeguards which, if loyally applied, were sure to be effective. The evidence and the unanimous report, written by Nassau Senior, and embodying a part, at all events, of Chadwick's plan, led directly to the recommendations which it was wished to enforce.

We are far from saying that the present Commission does not contain persons of clear and practical views; but a Commission of eighteen, many of them distinguished controversialists, who will naturally wish to call up evidence in justification of their own views, is not likely to be expeditious in its procedure or unanimous in its verdict. We fear that at the present time the success of the Commission of 1834 cannot be repeated. The Legislature cannot now get rid of its responsibility by this device. It must summon up courage to face the difficulty itself. It, and it alone, has the authority and the power to educate and lead public opinion. This is a duty which has

been too long neglected, and which ought to be shirked no longer. We hope, though we are not sanguine, that its work will be assisted by the labours of the Commission ; what we want, however, is not fresh evidence—the facts are notorious—but clear and strong guidance.

Until the Commission reports, the ordinary citizen will be much perplexed by conflicting advice. He sees that the policy of relieving the unemployed by the provision of work is very popular and very plausible. Every one, except the dole-giver, whose view, or want of view, is generally discredited, professes a desire to assist poverty to attain efficiency and independence—an object to be distinguished from a mere relief of distress, which leaves the recipients not only poor, but pauperised. The socialists of Poplar and West Ham make no secret of their view that the State should organise work for the workless—a form of enterprise which, they believe, could be permanent and expansive. The honourable instinct of the poor man himself is against receiving legal or charitable relief; what he asks for is work. The poor-law economists, to whose extorted admission of the failure of the law we have already adverted, are also agreed that what is needed is a better organisation of industry, not, of course, by the State, but by means of a greater mobility and adaptability of labour—a result which, they maintain, is much obstructed by the congestion caused by an ill-considered administration of the Poor Law and by the provision of artificial relief work which cannot be of a permanent character.

The needed expansion of industry, whether it come from the government organisation demanded by the socialists or from the economic development of free industry, if it is to be of any use to the unskilled and intermittently employed population, must be continuous. An industry fomented by charitable effort during the winter and suddenly stopped in the spring, or even after a longer period, is worse than useless. Socialists, again, with the command of only parochial funds at their disposal, soon come to an end of their tether; and the country, as at present advised, is certainly not inclined to carry on their experiment with national funds. There is no exit from the difficulty in either of these directions.

At this point of the controversy persons of good will

may not unnaturally ask whether there may not be some middle course, some plan of developing employment, which obviously and admittedly is the remedy most ardently desired. To this question we now turn.

The first point to be decided is whether there is anything new in the present situation which entitles us to disregard our earlier experience as irrelevant. Addressing himself to this problem, the late Prime Minister, speaking at the Mansion House on November 9, referred to the 'wish to distinguish the evil of the unemployed from the general evil of poverty and pauperism,' and described the difficulty as follows: 'The problem of the unemployed I take to be this—that in the mutations of trade, in the oscillations of prosperity, in the changes of industry, in the progress of invention,' men with every qualification for work are temporarily thrown out of employment.

This enumeration of causes is accurate and perhaps exhaustive; but, when we reflect that the case of the unemployed has always been the main difficulty of poor-law legislation and administration, we find it difficult to make these causes the basis of a distinction between want of employment and the 'general evil' of pauperism. The ordinary English Poor Law, in all ages, has been largely and at times almost exclusively concerned with distress arising from want of employment. The enactment of the Elizabethan Law, to go no further back, was largely due to a 'mutation' of industry which, in Tudor times, converted much arable into sheep-grazing land. The most significant legislative incident of the period between the time of Elizabeth and the reform of 1834 is probably the action taken by all large centres of population to contract themselves out of the ordinary Poor Law, and to obtain special Local Acts for themselves, because they found the obligation laid on them by the Act of Elizabeth—'to set the poor on work'—impracticable. As typical of this movement, we may cite the Bristol Act of 1696, which, after reciting the evils arising from the idle and unemployed, gave power to erect buildings within the city of Bristol 'for the better employment and maintaining of the poor. The failure of this Act is epigrammatically summed up by a contemporary writer, who says that the good workmen would not stay in the house of industry, and those who

remained spoiled the material. If space permitted, it would not be difficult to show that early attempts to reform the Elizabethan Law failed because of the assumption, which indeed underlay the Law itself, that it is possible for the public authority to organise industry for the less efficient fringe of the population.

The celebrated Report of 1834 pointed out how the obligation to set the poor on work had been universally abandoned. If employment continued to be given, it was not by way of an organisation of industry, but was merely incidental to the giving of relief. As a measure of relief it was costly, because of the material that had to be provided, and unsatisfactory, because it was impossible to provide work that was suitable for all. The obligation of the Elizabethan Law, therefore, was universally ignored; and resort was had to the easier and less costly but hardly less pernicious system of supplementing wages and relieving all comers on a scale depending on the number of their children or on the price of bread. The crisis of 1834 was entirely due to the pressure of the unemployed able-bodied population; and the whole merit of the Poor Law Amendment Act consists in the fact that it abolished the obligation to employ, and put the relief of the able-bodied on a different basis. The work exacted under the new Poor Law made no pretence to be an organisation of industry; it was merely a test of destitution.

Those who were then responsible for public policy did not ignore the fact that there were oscillations and mutations of trade. The displacement of labour by invention was then proceeding on a much larger scale than at present; but the Legislature was deliberately of opinion that the needed redistributions of labour were most surely and successfully effected by the call of the market, and that interference with the fluidity of labour by attempts through the Poor Law to organise labour in places and in trades where it, *ex hypothesi*, was not wanted, was an aggravation of, and not a remedy for, the evil. The whole history of industry is the record of transitions from one form of industry to another, and, though in a less degree, of its migration from one place to another. It is just because the offer of employment, in work artificially fomented by charitable or poor-law funds, tends to an undesirable congestion, that the Legislature, while

offering an adequate maintenance to the destitute, deliberately abjured all pretence of organising industry.

Industry is essentially an exchange of efforts; and labour-force is good currency and has value if it can be guided to present itself for employment at the right place and with sufficient qualifications. If, for the sake of keeping this discussion within practical limits, we rule out the demand of the socialist, we are left to consider whether any constructive service can be rendered to the unemployed by efforts to increase the fluidity of labour.

In attempting to answer this question, we must leave on one side, as irrelevant to a discussion about connecting relief with such services, many important and decisive considerations. We may instance the need of a wiser expenditure of working-class earnings. If, through the excise, workmen voluntarily devote a large proportion of their income to defraying the cost of government, there must be a corresponding curtailment of employment in the domestic industries where their work chiefly lies. Again, the question, recently raised by Lord Hugh Cecil, of the desirability of grading the labour under the control of the trade unions, is one which closely affects the employment of the aged and the less skilful workman. There is also the even larger question as to the claim put forward by trade unions for a monopoly of certain industries. This is a distinct obstacle to the fluidity of labour, and a cause of permanent congestion in the ranks of the unskilled. Again, there is the question whether anything can be done to regularise the mass of unskilled and intermittently employed labour, e.g. in the riverside and the building trades. The dock companies of London have set a good example in this respect. M. Yves Guyot, in his '*Conflits du Travail et leur Solution*', has made useful suggestions, as yet mainly (though in France not entirely) in their theoretical stage, for the organisation of workmen in groups for the purpose of co-operative tender and contract—an interesting and ingenious proposal among the many that have for their object the advance of the workman out of the purely proletarian or hand-to-mouth condition of life. Of such proposals we cannot attempt, in a mere digression, to make an exhaustive list; but one other we may mention. The present generation, with its failures and misfits, is passing away while we debate; the

hope of the future lies in the rising generation. Something may be done by philanthropic effort, by some well-considered propaganda among parents who have children leaving school, to distribute the labour of the young away from overstocked and decaying trades into occupations of better prospect.

These things, it is true, have nothing directly to do with the Poor Law or with charitable relief funds; yet it is in these or some of these fields of endeavour that there is most promise of useful result for the efforts of enlightened philanthropy. We cannot be so sanguine when it is proposed to combine the work of a better organisation of labour, by some or all of the above-mentioned methods, with the administration of a relief fund. That, however, is the task which, as we understand it, has been undertaken by the committees of the new Unemployed Fund. In this connexion the Report of the Central Executive Committee of the London Unemployed Fund, 1904-5,* is an interesting and instructive document. Its perusal, with a little reading between the lines, discloses very clearly the immense difficulty of the task undertaken.

The necessity of avoiding the old mistakes seems to have been clearly before the mind of the person who drafted the report of the Classification Committee. Thus, on p. 32, the object of one part of the Committee's work, the Central Labour Exchange, is described as intended 'to increase the fluidity of labour, to provide a new instrument by which wage-earners may be enabled to find billets that they need and employers the men they want.' This Exchange, we are told, will not create work. 'It will, in every respect, work through ordinary channels; and its institution is another recognition of the supreme importance of maintaining and strengthening the normal courses of industry.' This, to our mind, is a recognition of the truth that the unemployed cannot be absorbed in masses in some new and as yet undiscovered industry, but that they may be absorbed, one or two at a time, in different directions and in different trades, and these the normal trades of the country. How far, we

* This Committee had its origin in the proposals made by Mr Long while President of the Local Government Board. It is interesting because, as its preface remarks, 'it thus resembled in its main features the organisation about to be established under the Unemployed Workmen Act, 1905.'

wonder, do the institution of these new authorities, the expectation which they have excited, and the attitude taken up by the normal member of the local committees, tend to defeat this declared dispersing policy of the Central Committee? How, again, does it agree with the expectation expressed in certain quarters that there can be a return *en masse* to the land?

Again, on p. 45 of this same Report, we read:—

'By whatever means that may be possible and appropriate, by measures whether of sternness or of kindness, it must be the ideal of unemployed administration to see that the offer of employment, or whatever step is recommended, is more than the palliative of the moment; that it leaves men more independent than it found them, their industrial status unimpaired, if not improved.'

Admirable counsel of perfection! We wonder how far, with the local administration available, this precaution can be observed. Elaborate and admirable instructions are laid down for the guidance of the local joint committees, by which, in the first instance, the duty of classification has to be performed. We doubt very much if the careful investigation which is recommended is possible, in the face of the mass of applications which the advertisement of these large public funds inevitably produces. This is the reason why, even in ordinary poor-law administration (i.e. in dealing with applicants not for work but for relief, a much less attractive object), investigation is generally admitted to be impracticable; and why an automatically working test of destitution is held by competent authorities to be a preferable method of selection. Investigation is useful for the better administration of private funds; but, so far as our knowledge goes, it has been conspicuously a failure when it has had to deal with great masses of applicants.

In the present case, though allowance must be made for a system which is not yet in full working order, it is notorious that serious investigation played no part in the selections made by the joint or local committees. 'Occasionally,' the Report admits (p. 33), 'these duties seem to have been somewhat perfunctorily performed.' It significantly declines 'to describe local procedure, district by district.' 'Little gain' (it says) 'would result from such an attempt. Criticism, favourable or otherwise, would

almost necessarily be involved; and from this no advantage would be likely to accrue.' It is not possible, therefore, to rely confidently on a central body which, doubtless justly, thinks it would unduly strain its authority to criticise or even publish the proceedings of its subordinate committees. The situation recalls the failure of the Boards of Guardians to adopt the policy prescribed to them by the Commissioners and their successors the Local Government Board. The Report breathes an air of admirable wisdom; but we fear it bears very little relation to the work done at the various local joint committees.

The section of the Report called 'Summary and Conclusions' reiterates the need of increasing the fluidity of labour, and, while dwelling on the advantage of saving men from 'the often final degradation of the Poor Law,' assures us that 'the greatest caution has been needed to save men from the opposite but no less real form of degradation, the loss of self-reliance, and the expectation and desire that similar special work may continue to be found for them.' The fact that most of the men were of the less competent and intermittently employed class made it very difficult—we fear we must say impossible—to prevent employment intended to be continuous, and at trade-union rates of wages, from being attractive, even in the works for which the Central Committee was itself responsible. In the employment given locally and by other public bodies, the necessity of such safeguard was not, so far as we can learn, acknowledged.

This point is, of course, of the first importance. The remedial agency, if it is to do any good, must select its material, and only such amount of material as it can effectively control and ultimately place in an improved condition. The means of selection may be investigation, the difficulty of which, as we have said, is well-nigh insuperable; or it may be some automatic test, such as hard work and low wages. Hard work cannot fairly be exacted from unaccustomed hands, and low wages are not allowed; these conditions, therefore, are more or less nugatory. To the unskilled and intermittently employed, continuous employment at trade-union wages is attractive. There may be no objection to detaching men from labour which is not to their liking, so long as the remedial

agency has at its disposal sufficient outlet for placing such men in a permanently improved economic position; but, if it has no such outlet, its influence is toward a deeper congestion.

On this point the Report is not reassuring. The difficulty is fairly stated; and the Central Committee, we are told, attempts to make some provision for various classes of cases in which permanent assistance is required. Its efforts can be described generally as efforts, in the first place, to provide information as to vacancies. It is difficult, we confess, to think that an organisation which, *ex hypothesi*, is formed to deal with the less competent, will be a popular house of call and enquiry either to employers or labourers. Is it not rather a rendezvous which the employer would shun? Would it not be wiser to stimulate and improve the action of existing agencies? The object is, of course, admirable; but has such an organisation any chance of removing the congestion which the very existence of the fund increases?

Over and above this diffusion of information by a Labour Exchange, the Committee seems mainly to rely on emigration and on a somewhat vaguely expressed aspiration for a return to the land. With regard to emigration, it will be relevant to refer to an episode in the passing of the Poor Law Amendment Act. During the parliamentary debates on its emigration clauses, the Duke of Wellington remarked that he had no objection to their passing, but that he was of opinion that, when the Act was passed, there would be no need for them. As a matter of fact, very little use ever was made of these clauses. The truth is, as the Duke of Wellington sagaciously surmised, that there was no surplus population which required to emigrate. Surplus population is only created when it is aggregated in masses in front of some public authority which, like that under the old Poor Law, professes to manage its affairs, and, as happened at that time, signally fails to fulfil the expectations raised.

Mr Rider Haggard and others have revived the advocacy of a peasant proprietary, and the more intensive cultivation of the soil. Undoubtedly 'the pulverisation' of property, which is the need of the hour, has worked well elsewhere in connexion with small holdings of land; but it is difficult to see its connexion with the question

of the unemployed. If we want a population of peasant proprietors we shall not find them among the failures of urban life.* Selected agricultural labourers, or even enterprising town labourers, might, in certain localities, take up *petite culture*, which has been profitable under other climates. It is an experiment to which all wish well; but what is wanted is not specially *petite culture* but the thrifty instincts which a wide diffusion of property creates. The question, in some minds, will be whether agriculture in this country is the best field for the *morcellement* or pulverisation of property which has done so much for the small proprietors of Denmark and France. England is pre-eminently a manufacturing country; and it is possible that manufacture, and the capital which it employs, would in England be the more natural field for a spread of small ownership. The cooperative-productive movement has already found this a more encouraging field for enterprise than agriculture.

It is quite possible that great revolutions lie before our agricultural industries, and that intensive cultivation may be largely augmented. This is a process about which dwellers in towns are more sanguine than farmers and landowners. The expansion, however, is unlikely to be greater than that which has taken place in other trades. Change and expansion have ever been elements in our industry, and they are unfortunately quite compatible with the growth of a fringe of economic incapacity.

Technical education for the unskilled and their children, migration, emigration, the development of popular credit banks, and many other admirable schemes, are things which can be helped by judicious philanthropic assistance. Some of them are expressly mentioned by the Central Committee of the Unemployed Fund. We fear, however, that in endeavouring to promote these constructive schemes as part of, or in connexion with, a scheme of relief, they

* As to the two colonies reported on by Mr Haggard, it is only necessary to quote the evidence of the Salvation Army as to Fort Romie: 'We selected them because they were farmers by profession, and thoroughly understood the peculiar conditions to which they were subject' (p. 47). Similarly, as to Fort Amity, where the colonists had been city dwellers (p. 75): 'We selected a number of good, desirable families.' Again (p. 80): 'The industry and intelligence manifested by our settlers here has been such as would have produced triumphant success in nine out of every ten colonies undertaken under more favourable conditions.'

have raised difficulties which may prove insuperable. It would have been better to leave the relief of destitution to the normal agencies existing for that purpose, and to devote the energy, enthusiasm, and money which this fund has called forth directly to the constructive work to which, rightly enough, the Committee attaches a paramount importance.

The Committee labours under the further difficulty that some of its proposals are ruthlessly condemned by leaders of working-class opinion. Mr John Burns has remarked, in his emphatic way ('Morning Post,' Nov. 27, 1905), that labour colonies are merely 'doss-houses'—a term, we take it, of reproach, not applicable to places where a man's industrial character, when broken or in danger of being broken, is likely to be strengthened and restored. We should be sorry to adopt such an opinion without reservation. As an adjunct to a workhouse, or as a place of training to which carefully selected applicants could be sent with a view to emigration, such establishments might be useful; but unless admissions are made on a restricted scale, they are undoubtedly in danger of deserving Mr Burns's condemnation. As an alternative to the workhouse, they might reassure some middle-class susceptibilities; but as a rule, we fear, they merely provide a costly alternative form of dependence, and are no permanent alleviation of the difficulty.

Again, with regard to emigration, we observe that the following resolution has been passed by the London Trades Council ('Times,' Oct. 2, 1905):—

'That this conference of organised London workers emphatically denounces the proposals of Messrs Booth and Carlile to transport for life thousands of the flower of the working classes as a pretended relief for the unemployment difficulty, believing that such methods would be suicidal from the national point of view, and not only would not beneficially affect the position of the unemployed, but would be entirely mischievous to the general interests of the working class, and would tend to stave off the growing demand on the part of the workers for urgent economic and social changes which would effect a solution of the problem at the present time and in this country.'

Without sharing this somewhat extravagant condemnation of emigration—a healthy and natural outlet

for the adventurous and the ambitious—we may agree that emigration is a palliative and not a solution. We may reject as impracticable the socialist millennium at which the resolution hints, but we are still left to face the conclusion that improvement must come from a better organisation of industry, not on revolutionary lines, but on those of our present economic order, which, whether we like it or not, seem inextricably bound up in our industrial destiny.

Again, it is admitted—so we understand the Report of the Central Committee—that, as a measure for relieving large bodies of men, relief-employment is unsatisfactory. It is difficult to suit the abilities of all; and such employment is very costly. The justification of employment rests on its usefulness as a means of creating competent industrial character in certain selected cases, and subsequently giving these an opportunity of finding permanent work either in a new industry at home or in the colonies. This, however, is obviously not the view of the applicants themselves, or of the great mass of the subscribers, or of the local committees which have been formed under the new Act. They regard the Fund as one for the relief of unemployment generally; and already pressure, which seems to be irresistible, has obliged the Local Government Board to withdraw or modify some of the conditions of selection which it had laid down for the assistance of the administrators.

The regulations of the Local Government Board, however, are much less stringent than the principles of selection laid down in the Central Committee's Report. We hope we may be wrong, but we shall be surprised if the Central Committee is able to maintain its standard of work in the face of the pressure which is sure to be brought to bear on it from all quarters. We fear that the wide advertisement and expectation of large public funds will defeat the admirable intentions expressed in the Committee's Report; and we are disposed to ask whether these objects could not have been more certainly attained by less obtrusive methods. There are existing agencies for many of the objects which the Committee has in view. If these are inefficient, they might be strengthened, or, if not sufficiently numerous, they might be increased; thus it would have been possible to avoid

the danger of increasing the congestion which it is the object of all to disperse.

We have, however, entered on the experiment, and it will be carried through; but the results should be carefully watched. The admissions of the Unemployed Fund Report are most valuable; they provide a touchstone by which the success of the experiment can be tested. The most that its framers hope is to give permanent assistance to a limited number of selected cases. Will this content the enthusiast? On the other hand, there is the danger that those who regard the Unemployed Workmen Act as a recognition of the workman's right to work will press their interpretation of the Act, and that we shall see a repetition of the disaster which overtook the national workshops in Paris in 1848.

Sir Robert Peel, when called on to defend the Poor Law of 1834, which had been passed by the opposite party, remarked that this reform could not have been carried through except by a Liberal Government. The new Premier has appointed a strong man to the Local Government Board; and, if Mr Burns can be brought to see that the socialist millennium and the universal employment of labour by the State are not practical politics, he may conceive it his duty to bid the country rest content with the guaranteed maintenance which the Poor Law gives to destitution, to repress sternly, not only labour colonies, but also all other opportunities for dependence, and to endeavour the framing of practical measures for developing the mobility and efficiency of labour, and for increasing the absorbent properties of the normal channels of industry. He, at least, sees the hopelessness of devising new forms of dependence. Will he see that the curtailment of those which already exist is the first step towards reform? We are entering on a new phase of this controversy; and perhaps, as Sir Robert Peel hinted, it is fortunate that the responsibility rests on the popular party. It was the Radical wing of that party that saved the country in 1834; we can only hope that the subject will be handled with equal firmness in 1906.

Art. XII.—DISINTEGRATION IN RUSSIA.

1. *Russia*. By Sir Donald Mackenzie Wallace. New edition. Two vols. London : Cassell, 1905.
2. *L'Empire des Tsars*. By A. Leroy-Beaulieu. Third edition. Three vols. Paris : Hachette, 1897-8.
3. *Histoire de la Russie*. By A. Rambaud. Fifth edition. Paris : Hachette, 1900.
4. *Russian Affairs*. By Geoffrey Drage. London: Murray, 1904.
5. *Sixteen Years in Siberia*. By Leo Deutsch. Translated by Helen Chisholm. London : Murray, 1905.
6. *L'Empire Russe et le Tsarisme*. By Victor Bérard. Paris : Armand Colin, 1905. English translation by G. Fox-Davies and G. O. Pope. London : Nutt, 1905.
7. *The Russian Revolutionary Movement*. By Konni Zilliacus. London : Alston Rivers, 1905.
8. *Russia from Within*. By Alexander Ular. London: Heinemann, 1905.
9. *Russia in Revolution*. By G. H. Perris. London : Chapman and Hall, 1905.

IN July 1883, in an article in this Review on 'The Races of European Russia,' we endeavoured to draw attention to the very heterogeneous ethnical elements composing the population of that country; we referred to the 'remarkable want of cohesion among the different classes of the people'; we pointed out the grave danger which would threaten autocratic government in the event of Russia engaging in an unsuccessful war; and we asked, 'if the throne be shaken, the army demoralised, and the nation convulsed, what force is to hold together all the heterogeneous nationalities, races, and peoples' whose position we had described? The autocracy has now waged war unsuccessfully; and the results emphasise the importance of the question which, twenty-two years ago, we ventured to indicate as likely to arise.

Liberal sentiments have often been temporarily popular in Russian society; but to-day liberal and even radical ideas have been generally embraced by the mass of the growing middle classes, by professional men and traders; whilst exaggerated doctrines grading downwards to the

most violent socialism and anarchism have permeated the urban proletariat. The political importance of the middle classes was infinitesimal half a century ago, and the urban proletariat was non-existent. To-day these classes represent a great political force; and they have discovered their strength. But even this new force will be swept aside, as by an irresistible avalanche, if the wide-spread discontent and unrest among the great mass of the peasant population should lead to a general development of the agrarian disorders reported from many provinces of European Russia and Poland, and also from the Caucasus. The present generation of peasants have had no experience of the discipline of serfdom; and the unquestioning submission to authority, which circumstances rendered a matter of habit to the serf, can no longer be reckoned upon to control those to whom such circumstances are but a tradition.

To facilitate a study of the causes leading to the present situation, and the rapid development and violent manifestation of ultra-liberal ideas, it is desirable briefly to trace the history and growth of Liberalism in Russia. In so doing we shall have frequently to refer to the new edition of 'Russia' by Sir D. M. Wallace, a remarkable book for which every serious student of Russian affairs must remain indebted to its competent and conscientious author. The bulk of recent publications professing to enlighten the world on the political situation in Russia is no more informing than would be a compilation of thoughtless and exaggerated statements culled from the columns of sensation-seeking journals. The great majority of even would-be serious books bear strong internal evidence of having been put together with hasty incompetence to meet the requirements of an ignorant public.

In connexion with the present situation, it must be remembered that the Russian Slavs have for centuries been familiar with both democratic and communistic ideas and practices. As Sir D. M. Wallace shows in his chapter on the Mongolian domination, the establishment of the autocracy was due to conditions which arose during the supremacy of the Khans. It is probable that, in leading resistance to the invading hordes, the power of the Slav princes increased; and it is certain that, in order to facilitate the collection of tribute, the Khans, when

they had established their own supremacy, favoured the absolute authority of the rulers of the Russian principalities. The process, which began by confirming the authority of individual princes, culminated in establishing the supremacy of the most powerful among them, the Grand-Prince of Muscovy. But all the influence of the Mongolian domination failed to eradicate those fundamental democratic principles which have survived to this day in certain forms of village local self-government, in the communistic system of land tenure, and in the *artel* system of labour cooperation.

Liberal ideas of the modern type are no new thing among the upper classes in Russia; but, as Sir D. M. Wallace shows, any display of enthusiasm for such ideas has in former times been more or less a matter of fashion; and, when the Tsar and his ministers thought things were going too far and decreed a conservative reaction, the servile crowd was not slow to drop what they suddenly discovered to be foreign theories unsuited to Holy Russia. Under the Empress Catherine II, and encouraged by her, extreme Liberalism was for a time much in vogue, and Voltaireanism was quite fashionable in St Petersburg. The Reign of Terror in France produced, however, a hasty reaction; and, the Empress setting the example, St Petersburg became decidedly reactionary. Towards the close of the reign of Alexander I, another wave of Liberalism upset the mental balance of Russian society. In 1825 there was an attempt at a military insurrection in St Petersburg, with the idea of overthrowing the autocracy and proclaiming a republic; but the reformers were rudely brought to their senses by the stern hand of Nicholas I. The liberal movement in western Europe, which culminated in the revolutionary disturbances in 1848-49, affected St Petersburg; but the actual outbreak of revolutions in France and elsewhere alarmed the Tsar and many of the leaders of society. A spirit of strong conservatism speedily reasserted itself, and held the field until the disasters of the Crimean war again threw doubts on the perfection of the political system, and led to a fresh national awakening. Alexander II, on succeeding to the throne, had to face a new situation, and to deal with a widespread and serious demand for practical reforms.

It is needless here to follow closely the political events

of the earlier years of the reign of Alexander II, the 'Tsar Liberator.' It is sufficient to note that, while the emancipation of the serfs was accomplished with general goodwill and much self-sacrifice on the part of the great landowners as a body, a small minority remained opposed to such reforms. After the first enthusiasm of the reformers had subsided, the influence of this minority steadily increased. Serfdom could not be re-established; but the powers of local government bodies could be restricted; the Press could be held in complete subjection; and all who ventured publicly to express disapproval of reactionary measures could be promptly silenced or rigorously dealt with if they proved recalcitrant. Public sentiment accepted the reaction; and, during several years, Liberalism in Russia, if not asleep, showed no signs of vital energy. The awakening came with the war of 1878, the disasters at Plevna, and the unsatisfactory results of the Russo-Turkish war.

The great moral and social effect of bringing together the masses of men composing the Russian armies in the Balkan Peninsula does not appear to have been generally perceived. The peasant soldiers were often unfavourably impressed by the contrast between their own squalid homes and the comfortable homesteads of the Bulgarians, who had been represented to them as unfortunate brethren struggling with adversity under the cruel yoke of the Turk. Never had the Russian soldier dreamed of such substantial comfort for himself as that which he saw enjoyed by his persecuted brethren. The reflection was obvious that, if the Turkish system of government was bad, that in Russia must be infinitely worse. The Nihilist young women who flocked to the military hospitals as nurses, and the apothecaries' assistants, many of whom came from the same class, enforced the object-lesson by their teachings, and encouraged discontent. The soldiers, coming from all parts of the empire, had opportunities of comparing notes; and the more eloquent among them, who had lived in the towns or had received some education, spread radical and socialistic ideas among the rest.

The effects of the agitation begun in the Balkan Peninsula were soon felt when the army returned home. They manifested themselves in a rapid increase in the ranks of the Nihilists, and in increased boldness on the

part of the active conspirators. General Trepoff was the first victim of note; and the applause with which the acquittal of Vera Sassulitch, his assailant, was received in a law-court full of persons belonging to the best society in St Petersburg, showed that, whilst discontent was growing among the lower orders, liberalism had once more become a force in St Petersburg society.

The Vera Sassulitch incident was followed by numerous assassinations and attempts at assassination, which, though sympathy was not always felt for the particular victim, gradually began to alarm the minds of serious people; and the final catastrophe, when Alexander II himself met his fate at the hands of a Nihilist, startled the public. But, although determined reactionaries were encouraged in their reactionary sentiments, the spirit of reform had now got so strong a hold on society that a large and important section openly declared that the only way of preventing the recurrence of such deplorable incidents was to enlist the active support of all reasonable men on the side of the Government by accepting the principle of constitutionalism for Russia.

Some little time before the assassination of Alexander II, General Loris Melikoff had been entrusted with powers in many respects much greater than those exercised by a Prime Minister under a constitutional system of government; and the position of the other ministers, his colleagues, had been subordinated to his chief authority. Although vested with powers approaching those of a dictator, Loris Melikoff is known to have favoured the formal granting of a restricted constitution, and to have been supported in his views by a majority of the ministers. A constitution is believed to have been drafted and approved by Alexander II; and it has been confidently asserted that, had he lived a few days longer, it would have been promulgated. It was understood that the murder of Alexander must necessarily delay reform; but, notwithstanding the determined attitude of the reactionary party, strengthened by the tragedy which they maintained would never have occurred had not the central government fallen into weak hands, the public fully expected that Alexander III would proclaim a constitution. This expectation was grievously disappointed.

On the memorable morning when Alexander III made

his first public appearance after his father's funeral, to hold the annual spring review of the St Petersburg garrison, he assembled the senior officers present, among whom was Loris Melikoff. To the intense surprise of his audience, he announced his determination to maintain the autocratic system in its strictest form, and he commanded implicit submission to his will. Neither Loris Melikoff nor any of his colleagues had had the faintest intimation of the Tsar's intention. His speech was in direct opposition to the political programme which they were known to favour, and which they had believed the Tsar to be ready to accept. The delivery of such a speech, without even the slightest notice to his ministers, was in itself an act so directly antagonistic to all constitutional ideas that Loris Melikoff and the great majority of his colleagues determined to resign. Accordingly, Count Loris Melikoff, Minister of the Interior, General Miliutin, Minister of War, Count Valuieff, Minister of Domains, M. Abasa, Finance Minister, and M. Nabokoff, Minister of Justice, simultaneously tendered their resignation to the Tsar. But the Tsar once more surprised his ministers. He rated them soundly for their audacity in venturing to talk of resignation without his permission ; he informed them that, when he saw fit to remove them from their posts, he would notify their dismissal ; and he bade them to remember meanwhile that they were his servants, and that, until dismissed on his initiative, they must continue to fulfil their duties.

There was solid reason for the Tsar's anger with his ministers. In Russia no official consultation or combination is permitted between the ministers unless they are directed to consult together, or do so in the presence of the autocrat ; and each minister personally and privately presents to the supreme head of the Government the questions on which he desires action to be taken. The importance and indeed the necessity of such a system for the full maintenance of the absolute authority of the autocrat is self-evident. It was equally understood by Loris Melikoff and his colleagues, and by the reactionary advisers of the Tsar, under whose inspiration he promptly nipped in the bud the first attempt of Russian ministers to introduce the constitutional principle of the solidarity of a ministry. This attempt to introduce ministerial soli-

darity, and its stern repression by Alexander III, mark an epoch in the political history of Russia.

Throughout the reign of Alexander, the influence of the determined Conservative, Pobiedonostseff, Procurator of the Holy Synod, remained supreme; and it is practically certain that it was his influence which induced the Tsar, at the commencement of his reign, to reject all proposals tending towards constitutionalism. A marked and novel feature of this period of conservative ascendancy was the adoption of a policy of russianising the non-Orthodox and alien races among the population of European Russia. This policy, inspired by Pobiedonostseff, was initiated and conducted in a most unscrupulous manner by Count Ignatieff, the successor of Loris Melikoff at the Ministry of the Interior; and it was followed, though with less overt violence, by his successor, Count Tolstoi.

Count Ignatieff directed his first efforts against the Jews; but towards these unfortunate people his policy rather took the line of measures for ruining their economic position and thereby reducing their growing prosperity and power. It was a deliberate part of this policy to hold them up to the contempt of their fellow Russian subjects at home, and to saddle them in the eyes of the world with the responsibility for nihilistic disturbances and outrages. The cupidity and jealousy of the peasant class were artfully excited; and the result was seen in the widespread anti-Jewish disturbances and the terrible sufferings of the Jews in the year 1882.

Count Tolstoi turned his more particular attention to the Protestant communities, and especially to those in the Baltic Provinces. Down to his time, the barons of German origin, and the German-speaking commercial communities in the important towns in the Baltic Provinces, had been successfully germanising the population. This had been done on no definite plan, and probably without any definite intention; but, as all business and all minor official appointments were in the hands of the educated German class, no advancement in the social scale was possible for those who did not speak German and work with the Germans. It does not appear that the Livonian or Estonian peasants felt any resentment against their German superiors on this account. To learn German was a natural and essential part of the education

of all who desired to rise in the world. The peasants deeply resented, however, the special privileges of the barons, who were complete masters of the local courts and often exercised their authority with great harshness. This was the lever used by the Government to promote discord and destroy the German ascendancy; but when, having fanned the flame of animosity between the peasants and the superior classes, it began to insist on russianising the former, and adopted the ordinary Russian methods, described in a previous number of this Review (July 1904), of bringing them into the fold of the Orthodox Church, the people soon learned that they were being freed from the Germans merely to find still more uncongenial masters in the Russian *tchinovniks*.

At the same time the prosperous German Memnonite colonies on the Volga were taken in hand. They were deprived of the management of their own public institutions; and their public funds were seized to be administered by Government—in other words, they were confiscated. Finally, a death-blow was given to the system under which the colonists had become the one really prosperous agricultural community in Russia, by forcing them to adopt the Russian system of periodical redistribution of their lands. This system, which may perhaps be applied without grave prejudice to poorly cultivated lands, is incompatible with farming on modern principles. The colonists were ruined; large numbers emigrated; and those that remained are being rapidly reduced to the social and economic level of the ordinary Russian peasant. The result desired by the authorities was attained; the offensive object-lesson of the superiority of non-Russian institutions has been obliterated.

The social and moral influence of the Polish landed aristocracy was practically extinguished after the revolt of 1863; but the sentiment of nationality was preserved among the people; and the Roman Catholic Church was the natural centre of opposition to the Pobiedonostseff policy of russianisation. This policy therefore necessitated an attack on the Church. The methods of this attack have already been described in an article in this Review (October 1904); but it is worth while to record here the system employed in carrying out the final measure—the closing of the churches, the

rallying-ground of the priests and their faithful flocks. The procedure adopted for this purpose had at least the merit of being ingenious. The funds collected by the parishioners for the maintenance of their churches having been seized, with all other similar funds, by the Russian authorities, the duty of maintaining the buildings devolved on them. This duty was carefully neglected; but Russian experts as carefully inspected the condition of the buildings. The experts soon discovered that numerous church buildings were unsafe; and orders were immediately issued to close them. How these orders were carried out was painfully exhibited in a memorable case in the neighbourhood of Wilna. The peasants, knowing that there was no real necessity for the closing of their church, adopted the plan of passive resistance. The congregation was organised in watches; and throughout the day and night a certain proportion remained at their devotions. But such expedients were of no avail. Troops were ordered from Wilna; and, when the worshippers refused to leave the church, volleys were fired at them as they knelt before the altar. The corpses of the men, women, and children were dragged out; and the church was shut up. The chapter of revenge for this bloody deed is not yet closed.

It is unnecessary to weary the reader with a repetition of what would be practically a similar story as regards the treatment of the Gregorian Armenians. It is sufficient to say that the endeavours made to suppress the use of the Armenian language, and to impoverish and destroy the influence of the Armenian Church, resulted in provoking the bitter hostility of the race against Russia and the Russians. The refusal of Russia to support other Powers in bringing pressure on Turkey at the time of the Armenian massacres was a part of her general policy. It was hardly possible to suppress the Armenians at home, and at the same time to protest against their persecution at the hands of the Turks.

The economic and financial prosperity of Finland had aroused the jealousy of Russia in the latter years of the reign of Alexander II, and certain measures were introduced with a view to crippling its finances; but there was no overt oppression, and the constitution was nominally respected. In the last years of Alexander III some

further steps were taken to bring Finland into line with Russia. Of these, irritating but relatively unimportant examples were the abolition of the Finnish national coinage and postage stamps. It was, however, reserved for Nicholas II to repudiate openly his constitutional obligations to Finland, to draft Russian troops into the country, and to trample on the most cherished liberties of the people. The results are well known.

To the foregoing summary of the treatment meted out to the various alien races in Russia must be added some note of the attitude observed towards the Little Russians. However unscrupulous and barbarous the methods employed to russianise the more important of the alien races in European Russia, the policy was intelligible from the Russian point of view; and, could it have succeeded, it would have created an irresistible force in Eastern Europe dominating the whole European continent. It has not succeeded; it was, indeed, too gigantic a task to have a chance of success at so late a date in the history of Russia and Europe. The days of possible success for an inquisition or for *dragonnades* have passed, even in Russia. All that has been achieved is to accentuate racial feelings and hostility to Russian rule, and thus to enhance the difficulties of the situation.

But Russian statesmen were not content with endeavouring to russianise alien races; even the minor differences existing between the Great Russians, the dominant section of the Orthodox population, and the Little Russians and White Russians, excited their wrath. We have no recent trustworthy information as to the proportionate numbers of these different sections; but, some twenty years ago, the Great Russians were estimated at from 30,000,000 to 35,000,000, the Little Russians at about 16,000,000, and the White Russians at about 3,000,000. The last-named occupy some of the poorest tracts in Russia, where lie those dismal marshes and stunted forests through which Napoleon's army effected its disastrous retreat from Moscow; and they are of no political importance. The Little Russians inhabit all the fertile and relatively temperate provinces north and south of a line drawn from Kieff to Kharkoff; and both their numbers and their relative wealth render their contentment or discontent an important political factor.

When the Cossack Khmelnitski, pressed by the Poles, entered into negotiation with Alexis Michailovitch, the Moscow Tsar, he successfully stipulated for the autonomy of Little Russia and the Ukraine; and a separate administration was maintained until the reign of Catherine II. Although this separate administration has disappeared, and the mass of the people have forgotten the fact of its existence, separatist sentiments have survived; and, to quote from our former article, 'there are recollections, preserved in popular songs, of the happy days gone by, before "the White Hawk of the North pounced on and pinioned the more playful Lark of the South." We do not believe that there has been in recent times any strong secessionist feeling among Little Russians; but, as M. Leroy Beaulieu has remarked, their political aspirations are higher than those of the more docile northerners; and, should other sections of the empire obtain autonomous administrations, the same will probably be demanded with insistence for Little Russia. Politicians of the type of Pobiedonostseff and Ignatieff have foreseen the possibility of such an event; and, among other repressive measures adopted during the last thirty years, the Little Russian dialect has been forbidden both in literature and on the stage. The result has naturally been the reverse of that intended.

When Nicholas II came to the throne, there was a general anticipation and hope that an era of liberal ideas and reforms had commenced. The Tsar speedily earned and received the thanks of the Finns, the Poles, and the Jews, by the promise of more considerate treatment. The first proclamation issued to the Finns by their new Grand-Duke having created a bad impression in Finland, it was promptly withdrawn; and a new document was prepared, in which Finnish sentiment was carefully considered. This incident was at the time hailed as evidence of the dawn of a liberal era; but, in view of what has occurred during the last two years, it would be probably more correct to believe that it was a first public sign of the weakness of the new autocrat who, from the commencement, allowed himself to be swayed hither and thither by conflicting counsels. Unfortunately for Russia, it speedily became clear that, although from time to time, when certain special influences were in the ascendant,

some flicker of liberal sentiment might appear, the reactionaries had mastered the Tsar and would be the chief guides of his policy. During the first few years there were no outward violent signs of the impending cataclysm; but to attentive observers it was apparent that general unrest and discontent were steadily increasing.

A special feature of the situation was the growing power of M. Witte, the Finance Minister, who had succeeded M. Wishnegradsky. The financial policy of M. Wishnegradsky was to steady exchange, and at the same time to prepare for evil days by accumulating a great reserve of gold. With the able assistance of M. Hoskier, the Paris financier, and M. Laski, the large-minded director of the International Bank of St Petersburg, M. Wishnegradsky started those financial combinations with the French banks which led to the Franco-Russian alliance and re-established Russian credit in the European money markets. Further, M. Wishnegradsky, realising the impossibility of stable finance when the heads of the great spending departments of the Army and Public Works constantly obtained the consent of the Tsar to extra-budgetary expenditure, turned his efforts with success to enforcing the subordination of their requirements to budgetary considerations. As regards economic development, he laboured to improve commercial communications and shipping facilities, while opposing expenditure on strategical railways, which he considered to be, in the circumstances, an unjustifiable extravagance.

M. Wishnegradsky was not an agriculturist; and it cannot be said that, during his relatively short term of office, he did much for the direct improvement of agriculture, though, had he been spared, he would doubtless have taken the advice of experts and moved in this direction; for he was convinced that, for a long time to come, the prosperity of Russia must depend on agriculture rather than on a hasty development of industries. M. Wishnegradsky frequently insisted, in our hearing, on the view that, as Russian revenues are mainly dependent on agriculture, the finances of the empire should be conducted on the same lines as those which would be followed by a prudent farmer. The income from farms varies with varying seasons. There are fat years and lean years; and prudence enjoins that surpluses accruing in the fat

years should be reserved to supply deficiencies in lean years. The minister therefore strove to economise expenditure, and to accumulate in prosperous seasons such Treasury balances as would suffice to meet evil days. He was not in favour of bolstering up unsound industries; and applications for loans for the ostensible purpose of assisting industrial progress were as frequently refused by him as they were accepted by his successor.

Now what has been M. Witte's policy? It has been, in many essential respects, in direct opposition to that so prudently inaugurated by M. Wishnegradsky. M. Witte had never been anything but a subordinate railway official before he was brought, through M. Wishnegradsky's patronage, into high place in the Government. He is a man of strong will and powerful intellect, and in many respects a natural leader of men. During his term of office he has acquired valuable practical experience of Bourse manipulations, and he has become skilful in the art of working the Press. The control he has established over the foreign press and telegraph agencies is remarkable; but the Russian press he has not been able to influence, because most Russian journals of importance have long been secretly, if not openly, hostile to the bureaucratic regime, and no pretence of liberal ideas could gain for M. Witte the confidence of the Liberals. It is no exaggeration to say that there is probably no man in Russia more generally distrusted.

M. Witte is a man of large ideas; but, with a narrow horizon of practical experience, his large ideas have generally led him in false directions. Whether he ever thought out the inevitable results of his policy may be doubted; but gigantic railway enterprises, huge state monopolies, and encouragement lavishly given to industrial undertakings, were certain to impress the public, and, if for that reason alone, were congenial to M. Witte. To obtain the funds necessary for carrying out this expensive policy, he borrowed all he could from the French and German bankers; he increased taxation in every direction; and he squeezed the peasantry. His budgets were always balanced so as to show a nominal surplus; but that surplus depended on the alleged profits of railways and government enterprises, including state monopolies, and upon a system of accounting which even

expert accountants find more than difficult to understand, and which steadily swelled the extraordinary expenditure. This so-called extraordinary expenditure was defrayed from unintelligible Treasury balances, which for the most part consisted of the proceeds of loans.

It is true that, chiefly by means of foreign loans, M. Witte piled up an enormous accumulation of gold in the Treasury. We do not hold with those who consider that this gold constituted no real reserve because it was all pledged for the security of the note issue. It is certain that a gold reserve equal to the nominal value of a note circulation is, particularly in Russia, in excess of practical requirements; but we may point out that the Russian accumulation, besides serving as security for the notes, was also security for the very large circulation of silver token-coins, and, further, for various classes of government obligations, including deposits in the savings-banks. It should also be noted that the published accounts of the State Bank do not distinguish between the gold and silver which together constitute the enormous Treasury balances so freely advertised; and the silver is calculated at its nominal token value, and not at its intrinsic value.

Sooner or later, M. Witte's policy was bound to bring about a financial and industrial crisis. The industrial crisis was probably hastened by the war; for, although individual metallurgical and mechanical works reaped a rich harvest through supplying war requirements, the general industry of the country was seriously affected by the withdrawal of the male population and by the necessary abandonment or postponement of many government enterprises, on the continuance of which numerous industrial establishments depended for profitable working.

One striking and most important effect of M. Witte's policy was the creation of a numerous urban proletariat. It had been the frequent boast of Russian thinkers and writers that Russia was, and for all time would be, free from that source of disturbance afflicting society in western Europe. M. Witte, by encouraging the rapid creation of industries, demonstrated that the absence of a proletariat was due to no special virtue of the Russian character. The recent strikes, which have done more than anything else to disorganise the State, have shown the character and power of the Russian proletariat.

Thoughtful Russians frequently pointed out what would inevitably be the results of M. Witte's extravagant operations; but he heeded no one, and probably dazzled himself as much as he dazzled credulous foreigners. All means which appeared to lead to the desired end of securing his predominant position in the Government seemed to him good. His ambition brought him into direct conflict with M. de Plehve. The struggle was severe and protracted; but finally M. de Plehve, who was favoured by the court party, overcame his opponent. M. Witte was forced to resign; and in fact, though not in name, M. de Plehve reigned in his stead.

Of M. de Plehve we need only say that, whilst absolutely unscrupulous in his methods, he was as sincere as he was persistent in his narrow-minded repressionist policy. He believed that Russia could be ruled and for ever kept in check by a thoroughly organised police system, with all its accompaniments of summary arrest, imprisonment, and banishment without trial. If such a system could have succeeded, M. de Plehve was the man to carry it through. But, when the general spirit of a nation is in revolt, repression, though it may delay the crisis, will never by itself avert a catastrophe.

The assassination of M. de Plehve (July 27, 1904) was hailed with such signs of universal relief and even jubilation as showed clearly the rising temper of the nation. Even the Tsar was so deeply impressed by the signs of the times that, as successor to the arch-repressionist, he appointed Prince Sviatopolk Mirski, a humane man of well-known liberal tendencies. Of these two events, the latter was by far the most important. Plehve might conceivably have been replaced by another statesman of the same stamp, and the reign of repression continued for an indefinite, though in no case very lengthy, period. But the latitude allowed to the Press by Prince Sviatopolk Mirski, though marred by spasmodic reverions to the old order of things, was the beginning of the end. For the first time in history, the Russian people was allowed to speak its mind more or less freely on matters directly concerning the government of the country. It was the first breach in the autocratic dam; and, this once made, so mighty was the pressure of the pent-up waters of popular discontent, that no

human power could repair it. Political changes, sudden as they often appear to be, are mostly of remote origin and slow growth; and such words as 'epoch-making,' applied to any particular incident or event, are only relatively true. But with this limitation, we may say of Prince Sviatopolk Mirski's appointment to office, what would be inadmissible in speaking of Plehve's death, that it implied the end of absolute rule in Russia.

Political writers who, under the severest press-laws rigidly applied, had brought to perfection the art of innuendo, scarcely knew at first what to do with this new-made freedom. Cautiously, tentatively, they began hinting at constitutional reforms; but they soon cast off the trammels of the past, and launched out boldly on the road to freedom. Liberty of the Press gave an impulse to licence of speech. Men of all ranks and classes began to utter openly and loudly what they had hitherto whispered in secret. The landed interest, threatened with agrarian troubles, and recognising in reforms their one and only chance of safety, seized the occasion to press their claim to the right of speech; and on November 19, 1904, and the two following days, members of the Zemstvos held an informal meeting in St Petersburg, at first sanctioned, then vainly prohibited, the Emperor himself having stigmatised it as 'impossible.' They eventually passed a series of resolutions which amounted to nothing less than the first Russian Bill of Rights, demanding a liberal constitution and legislative control over government and administration. M. Shipoff, who recently refused the overtures made to him by Count Witte to join his cabinet, was the president of this assembly of territorial representatives. Only a minority wished to preserve any of the prerogatives of the discredited autocracy. The startling resolutions and demands adopted at this historic meeting were secretly circulated and spread broadcast throughout the land. Needless to say, the effect was immense; for the soil had been long and thoroughly prepared for an outburst against bureaucratic oppression and incompetence.

A meeting attended by over two thousand students had already been held, on November 14, in the University of St Petersburg, to discuss the necessity of putting an end to the war and instituting administrative changes;

and both these aims were advocated in speeches of remarkable freedom and power. About the same time 'stop the war' demonstrations, suppressed with bloodshed, took place in Moscow and other towns. All classes, societies, professions, and public bodies in the country immediately took their cue from the Zemstvoists, and began to combine and agitate. The Zemstvo Congress was followed by assemblies in various places throughout Russia; and these assemblies, of which the most conspicuous was that of the St Petersburg lawyers in the town-hall of the capital, loudly signified their approval of the Zemstvoists' demands. Prince Mirski had let loose a torrent which he was unable or unwilling to control. Whatever course events might take, whatever measure of success might attend the reactionary efforts of the Emperor's entourage, there could, in the existing conditions of Russia, and, above all, in view of the complete subversion of respect for those in authority, due to misgovernment at home and the military *débâcle* in the Far East, be no possibility of a return to the state of things existing on the day of Plehve's assassination.

On December 26, manifestations of popular discontent having increased to an alarming extent, an Imperial ukase was issued, admitting, for the first time, the existence of genuine grievances, and promising their removal. This in itself was an unheard-of concession on the part of the autocracy. It was explained that it was not the law that was in default, but the administration of the law, or rather, its direct and systematic violation. This, in future, was to be remedied; the law-courts were to be rendered independent, and all authorities were to obey the law. Martial law, which prevailed over whole provinces, was to be limited, though not abolished; the claims of certain nationalities were to be dealt with; and some measure of liberty of conscience was to be granted. But the publication of this ukase was followed within a few hours by that of an Imperial rescript, conceived and drawn up in a totally different tone and spirit, a spirit not of conciliation but of menace. Evidently the Tsar had passed immediately from the hands of the reformers into those of the reactionaries. The ukase was actually suppressed in some places by the local officials, while full

publicity was given to the rescript. Any hopes raised by the former document were short-lived.

In January 1905 matters were further precipitated by the appearance on the scene of the workmen with their appeal to the Tsar under the leadership of Father Gapon, and the horrors of 'Red Sunday' in the blood-stained streets of St Petersburg. Meanwhile the disasters of the war, especially the decisive and crushing defeats of Mukden and Tsushima, aggravated the internal situation. Prince Mirski, having opened the safety-valve, resigned his post on the plea of ill-health, and was succeeded by an ordinary bureaucratic official, M. Buliguine.

It is equally difficult to follow the various and rapidly changing phases of the revolutionary movement, or the succession of manifestoes and rescripts, often contradictory in spirit if not in terms, in which the Imperial authority has shown its vacillation and incompetence. We will only endeavour to indicate the more important events leading to the present chaotic situation.

In the beginning of last March, at a moment when the courage of the reformers was rising, Russia was startled by the issue of a violently reactionary Imperial manifesto, prepared under the influence of M. Pobedonostseff and his friends. The ministers were as much startled as the public. They met in council the same day at Tsarskoe Selo; and it was reported that they had courageously expressed their opinions to the Tsar. The result was extraordinary. The same evening was published a rescript convoking the assembly of the Duma, and granting the right to petition the Government and discuss the needs of the nation. To discuss this document, the Marshals of Nobility of twenty-two provinces met together. The differences between Constitutionalists and Conservatives, foreshadowed in November, were now sharply accentuated; but all agreed on the necessity of reforms and of ending the bureaucratic regime.

An important event was the issue, on the Russian Easter Sunday, of an ukase granting religious liberty, though in a somewhat restricted form. The grant of religious liberty shared, however, the fate of the grant of freedom to the press, at the hands of reactionary officials, who consistently ignored the last expression of the Imperial will. Notwithstanding the resistance

and plots of the reactionaries, the spirit of reform continued however to make headway. In the beginning of May, under the presidency of Count Heyden, the Zemstvo Congress met in Moscow. The majority of the members had been elected by the local Zemstvos or district councils, although the elections for the Congress had been forbidden by the Minister of the Interior, the meeting of the Congress itself prohibited, and, finally, the assembly ordered to disperse. All these obstacles were brushed aside; and the Congress, composed of about a hundred and fifty deputies, proceeded to elaborate a programme of reforms. At previous meetings of the Zemsky reformers, discussion had been chiefly directed to devising means which, whilst maintaining the autocracy in form, should place its powers and their exercise on a legal basis, and to seeking safeguards to prevent the abuse of authority by officials in the name of the Tsar. But public opinion had moved apace since March. M. Shipoff, the president of the earlier assembly, now found himself the leader of only a small band of Conservatives, who were hopelessly outvoted. The delegates were practically agreed in demanding the assemblage of a legally constituted representative body, with legislative powers and control of the administration; and important resolutions were taken on the questions of electoral rights and the powers to be exercised by this new Russian Parliament.

The next assembly of the Zemstvoists was in July. It had been immediately preceded by the sanguinary disorders in Odessa and the simultaneous mutiny in the Black Sea fleet. The naval and military authorities showed equal ineptitude and hesitation in dealing with this revolt. Few natural leaders of men are to be found in Russia; neither side has, so far, produced one; and, truly serious as was the inward significance of the whole affair, in many of its external features it partook of the nature of *opera-bouffe*.

Deeply impressed by these occurrences, the assembled Zemstvoists showed themselves even more strongly determined to abolish the autocracy and to dethrone the bureaucracy than at their previous meeting in May. They drew up a weighty indictment against the existing system of government, and declared that nothing short

of the complete transfer of power to a representative constituent assembly would be satisfactory. Direct election and universal suffrage were voted by large majorities, the more influential and intelligent representatives having the political sagacity to see that, whereas a few months earlier the public might have been satisfied with a conservative form of government concentrated in the hands of the upper classes, it was now too late for such an experiment. Leagues and unions were daily forming among the various sections of the population ; and their influence and importance were rapidly increasing. It was clearly impossible to exclude from power these new political forces ; and behind them all stood the great mass of the already agitated peasantry, whose confidence it was necessary to secure. Nothing short of inviting them to take direct part, by their votes, in a new system of government, seemed likely to gain this end.

Less than a month after the closing of this Congress, and while the question of peace and war yet hung on the balance at Portsmouth, the Tsar took a step apparently due to the desire of winning his people's confidence in view of a continuation of the struggle with Japan. On August 18 he announced the grant of a constitution ; and his proclamation set forth in minute detail the nature of the body which was to represent the nation. But, when it was asked what powers the Duma was to possess, it appeared that it was to be merely 'a consultative body,' and that 'the fundamental law regarding autocratic power' was to be maintained. To offer such a sop to the reformers was to insult their intelligence, to ignore their power, and to stimulate them to fresh exertions. On the other hand, the declaration of peace seemed to make even such concessions superfluous ; and, for some time, nothing more was heard of the proposal.

The events of the last four months will be too fresh in the memory of our readers to need recapitulation. Day by day it has been becoming more evident that the influence of moderate men and of the upper classes is being submerged by the rapidly growing power of the violent revolutionaries and of the socialistic unions of professional men, traders, and artisans, which, with the new Peasants' Union, find a common rallying ground and centre of organisation in the Union of Unions. This

latter body has now become the most powerful political factor in Russia. It was doubtless under its guidance that the great general strike was ordered and carried out at the end of October. Its immediate effect was to teach both the authorities and the public that, provided the strikers and society were willing to endure the hardships and privations entailed by the stoppage of all business and means of communication, the whole system of government could be completely paralysed by this determined form of passive resistance. The authorities appear to have been seized with a feeling of despair, which induced the Tsar to make an almost piteous appeal to his people in the remarkable manifesto of October 30. In this manifesto the most important point was the virtual abdication of autocratic power in the words:—

'The supreme duty imposed upon us by our sovereign mission requires us to *efface ourselves*, and with all our reason and all our power to hasten the cessation of the troubles so dangerous to the State.'

The liberties definitely conceded by the manifesto were inviolability of the person, with freedom of conscience, of speech, and of union and association; the extension of the franchise (for election to the Duma) 'to the classes of the population now completely deprived of electoral rights'; and the grant to the Duma of the power of vetoing proposed legislation, and of taking part 'in the supervision of the legality of the acts of the authorities.'

At first the publication of the manifesto was welcomed with enthusiasm; and the strikers prepared to return to their work. But the enthusiasm was not long-lived. Criticism speedily exposed the weak points of the document, and suggested that, though ostensibly going further than any previous declarations, it contained no surer guarantee for the realisation of its promises than had been given with its still-born predecessors. The Tsar, indeed, named Count Witte Chancellor with extraordinary powers to carry out his will as expressed in the manifesto; but, though it may be assumed that the appointment was made in all good faith, nothing could inspire Russian Liberals with confidence in the new minister.

The next immediate demand of the revolutionaries was for a general amnesty. After days of fatal hesita-

tion, this was granted; and Count Witte, whether justifiably or not, claimed the merit of obtaining this further concession from the Tsar. The revolutionary leaders now demanded that election to the Duma by universal suffrage and direct and secret voting should be at once accepted. To this Count Witte demurred; and the strike was continued. The minister then assumed an air of injured innocence and issued a proclamation to the strikers stating that he was their friend, and that they had only to return to work and give the Government time to elaborate measures for the improvement of their position, and all would be well. The proclamation fell flat, like many others; the strikers refused to believe in Count Witte's sincerity. In spite of this rebuff the minister did not appear discouraged. He was aware that hunger must necessarily soon force the strikers to return to their work, and meanwhile he was profuse in assurances of his power and will to make everybody happy by reasonable and liberal concessions. He invited M. Shipoff and other distinguished Conservatives among the Zemstvoists to join the new ministry which was being formed under his presidency; but these gentlemen, after discussions with the minister, declined the invitation. This step may turn out to be one of the most important in the history of the Russian Revolution. Whether genuinely distrustful of Count Witte, or afraid that they would compromise themselves with the Radicals, the Moderates have thus furnished Count Witte with an excuse for allying himself with the reactionaries. Like the Girondins, they appear to aim at heading a party which shall dominate both Court and proletariat. But, as Thucydides long ago pointed out, revolutions have a way of devouring middle parties; and for the Russian Moderates, too, a reign of terror may be in preparation.

While the negotiations with the Zemstvoists were proceeding, and public announcements were being made that laws for regulating the control of the press and convoking the Duma were being elaborated on liberal lines, serious disturbances continued in all parts of the empire. A special feature of the last few months has been the increasing violence of disorders in the non-Russian provinces—in Poland, the Baltic Provinces, the Caucasus, and Lithuania. In Poland they assumed so

formidable a character that the intervention of Germany was feared; and the Government declared that on this ground martial law must be maintained, and that, until order was restored, it was impossible to allow to Poland the liberties granted by the manifesto of October 30. Count Witte, with the support of all the reactionary party and many of the conservative Zemstvoists, declined absolutely to entertain the idea of autonomy for Poland; and he clearly counted on the traditional animosity between Russians and Poles to support his policy in this respect. He was mistaken. The demand for the repeal of martial law in Poland was added to those previously formulated; and, in opposition to the conservative and even some moderate reformers, the controllers of the revolutionary movement declared for autonomy in Poland and other provinces. A year ago the suggestion of autonomy would have excited the indignation of most Russian patriots; and no stronger evidence of the progress of political education can be found than the consent of the great majority of Russians of all classes to admit autonomous institutions in the subject provinces.

In the Baltic Provinces the towns are in open revolt; bands of peasants pillage, destroy, and murder with impunity; and the situation steadily grows worse. In the greater part of the Caucasus absolute anarchy prevails; and, where the native races are not engaged in sanguinary combat with one another, they are resisting the Russian troops with more or less success.

In Finland a remarkable movement, conducted with perfect order and evincing the organising capacity of the Finns, suddenly swept away all Russian authority. The Russian officials and the gendarmes were unceremoniously compelled to withdraw; and the Governor of Finland himself was obliged to take refuge on board a man-of-war which arrived from Reval. Finland gained its freedom without bloodshed; and, a few days after the stirring events which secured it, the Tsar (once more too late) issued a ukase by which the Finnish Constitution was acknowledged and restored. Other startling occurrences have been the massacre and ill-treatment of the Jews in southern Russia, with the terrible bloodshed accompanying the disturbances at Odessa and in other places, and the mutinies at Sevastopol and Kronstadt.

A serious event was the strike of the postal and telegraph employés, which has only recently been overcome; it rendered the bankers helpless, and produced a financial panic in St Petersburg which reacted on the European money markets and caused a heavy fall in Russian Government stocks. The success obtained in this direction probably inspired the revolutionary organisers with the idea of making a determined attack on Russian credit. They organised a run on the savings-banks; and recently they have issued a circular, calling on the people not to pay taxes, to insist on all payments over five roubles in amount being made in coin, and stating that no engagements which the Government might have entered into for loans since the outbreak of disturbances would be recognised by the revolutionary party. This was a serious blow to Russian credit abroad. Apart from this, the financial situation was, however, sufficiently bad to cause grave anxiety to foreign holders of Russian bonds. It is self-evident that, under present conditions, the collection of revenue must practically have ceased; the petroleum industry, which furnished large sums to the Treasury, is, for the time being, extinct; the railways are only working spasmodically, and necessarily at a heavy loss; while, in the large areas over which agrarian disturbances prevail, the collection of taxes is clearly impossible.

To all these troubles is added the fact that the army in Manchuria is more or less in open revolt. It is impossible to ascertain the exact situation; but Vladivostock appears to have fallen into the power of mutineers at least once, and to have been successfully pillaged; and it seems certain that Kharbin has also been pillaged and destroyed. The difficulty of provisioning the immense forces in the Far East has always been very great; and the complete disorganisation of the Siberian railway must have rendered it insurmountable. The troops are suffering from lack of food, clothes, and other necessaries; the reservists resent their forcible detention after the war is over; and, with the knowledge of what is going on in European Russia, it cannot be expected that the army should remain quiet and submissive. It has become difficult to say whether it is more dangerous to leave the mutinous troops in the Far East, or to bring them back to swell the ranks of the malcontents at home.

Harassed on all sides, the Government, though still protesting through Count Witte that it holds fast to the principles of the manifesto of October 30, has definitely entered on a course of repression. Wholesale arrests have been made both in St Petersburg and Moscow; and doubtless the organisation of the revolutionaries has been seriously hampered by the imprisonment or death of so many leaders. In St Petersburg the arrests appear to have prevented a rising; in Moscow, after a week's fighting, the rising has been suppressed. The general strike appears, as we write, to be at an end; and for the moment the forces of autocracy have triumphed in the ancient as well as in the modern capital of Russia.

We may now endeavour to summarise the causes and circumstances which gradually prepared the way for the recent violent outburst of the revolutionary movement.

We have shown that democratic and even communistic ideas have long influenced the Russian Slavs, and that autocracy is a relatively modern institution owing its origin to the Mongol or Tatar domination. We have noted that institutions of local self-government, such as the village communes and more recently the *zemstvos*, kept alive the democratic spirit among the masses. We have described how the general discontent, bred of economic distress, aroused a spirit of hostility to the Government, which began to find expression among the long-suffering peasant-soldiers brought together from all parts of the empire in the last Russo-Turkish war, who then had their first opportunity of comparing notes and listening to the teachings of revolutionaries, nurses, hospital attendants, and reservists drawn from the population of the towns. We have recorded the successive waves of liberalism which from time to time agitated the upper classes of Russian society; and we have shown how, at the close of the reign of Alexander II, Russia, under the guidance of a real statesman, Loris Melikoff, was on the eve of obtaining a conservative form of constitutional government, without convulsion or bloodshed. We have recalled how, when public opinion endorsed the demand of the Liberals for a constitution, Alexander III sternly repressed its expression; and we have observed that, though repressed for the time being, liberal and radical

ideas had taken too deep root to be extirpated. We have followed Count Witte's policy as Minister of Finance, and its result in the impoverishment of the peasantry and the rapid growth of an urban proletariat. Finally, we have shown that the disasters of the war with Japan produced among all classes a feeling of such exasperation against the autocratic and bureaucratic regime that nothing but an immediate change of system and thorough-going reform could have staved off the revolution.

In conclusion, it will be interesting to consider the two questions: what were the intentions and aspirations of those who started the revolutionary movement? and what is likely to be the outcome of the general upheaval?

The parties concerned in the political struggle may roughly be classified as belonging to certain main groups—the bureaucrats and repressionists, including the Court party; the social-democrats and the violent revolutionaries; the autonomists of alien race; and, finally, the ignorant mass of the peasantry. The Tsar belongs by instinct to the first group; but, by successive steps, each apparently caused by fear of the immediate consequences of continued resistance, he has yielded so far that he has already offered more than was originally demanded by even advanced constitutionalists. Each concession has, however, been made too late to satisfy those whose demands increased with delay; and promises made have not been fulfilled. The bureaucracy, fighting for existence, strives hard to maintain in practice what has been abandoned in theory. Finland alone has seen promises accompanied by performance; but the Finns have no confidence that the liberties which the Tsar has been forced to concede may not be withdrawn by a stroke of the pen, should he once more find himself master in his own house. They therefore still remain supporters of the revolutionary party in Russia.

We have seen how, when the revolutionary movement began to assume definite form, the great landowners assembled in November 1904 and endeavoured to control it. Their first formulated demands did not go much beyond proposals for legalising the acts of the autocracy and putting a stop to the illegal license of its instruments. The ukase of December 26 notwithstanding, nothing practical was done to satisfy these modest demands. If

promptly conceded, they might have satisfied the public, at least for a time. Not being at once conceded, they were soon relegated to oblivion, except by those ultra-conservative reformers whom, a year later, Count Witte fruitlessly called to his assistance. By July 1905 the moderate constitutional reformers had reached the stage of demanding the immediate assemblage of a thoroughly representative constituent assembly. Its immediate concession and the summoning of leading members of the Zemstvoist Congress to form an *ad interim* ministry might perhaps, even then, have saved the situation, and have kept political control in the hands of the upper classes. The Government, however, ignored these demands until its hand was forced by the general strike at the end of October. Then great promises were made; but no serious practical step has been taken towards their fulfilment. For this Count Witte is responsible. He is continually protesting that time is necessary for the elaboration of laws; but no one knows better than the reformers that he is the last man who would allow formalities to stand in the way of immediate action were he minded to take it. No wonder that the conservative reformers refused to join him.

While the Tsar and his ministers fiddled, the conflagration blazed; and the power of the Zemstvoists, conservative or advanced reformers, has perished in the flames. Their influence disappeared before the growing power of the social-democrats and violent revolutionaries. These are naturally two distinct parties, the former desiring progressive reform leading to organised socialism, while the latter recognise no half-way house, and desire the immediate overthrow of all existing institutions and authority, leaving the future to take care of itself. For the moment the two parties are working together, the social-democrats accepting the employment of all forms of violence, and the party of violence joining in the clamour for a constituent assembly. The alliance based on this compromise is unlikely to last long.

As we close this article the strikers and the fighting wing, who represent the violent revolutionaries, have been forced by the deficiency of arms for active resistance, and the lack of funds for the continuation of passive resistance, to succumb, for the time being, to the authorities. It will probably, however, be a short-

lived triumph. After the socialists and the proletariat, the Government will have to reckon with the Manchurian army and the peasantry. The autocracy has appealed to the traditional sentiment of devotion to the Tsar, and has offered to the peasants grants of land from the state domains. But the power of the traditional sentiment is waning; the promise of lands cannot be immediately fulfilled; and, in any case, the area available is inadequate to satisfy appetites whetted by anticipation. The Zemstvoists offered electoral rights and participation in a new form of government; but the offer is intelligible only to the few, and excites the suspicion of the many. The social-democrats and their present allies, the violent revolutionaries, alone appear to have gained the ear of the peasantry. Their preaching that all *tchinovniki* are corrupt and bad and must be exterminated, and that taxes should no longer be paid, is intelligible and acceptable; while the more or less direct suggestion to the peasants to help themselves to the land and property of the rich landowners is a tangible and acceptable proposal. The suggestion can be realised, if only attempts at realisation are sufficiently numerous and spread over a sufficiently wide area. The strenuous efforts of the party of violence are being directed to secure the fulfilment of these conditions for the success of a rising which has already attained most serious proportions, and may yet throw the horrors of the French *jacquerie* into the shade.

If the peasant revolt should assume the proportions and character feared by many thoughtful and patriotic Russians, it must inevitably lead to the dismemberment of the empire, unless the still undiscovered saviour of society should appear in the shape of a dictator. As in all military autocracies, everything ultimately depends on the army. Hitherto, though clearly infected by the revolutionary virus, having its own grievances to redress, and becoming apparently less and less amenable to discipline, it has enabled the Government to crush all active resistance. How long this grumbling loyalty will continue, it is impossible to say. After all, the army consists of working-men and peasants—in arms.

Art. XIII.—THE UNIONIST RECORD.

1. *The Unionist Record.* National Union of Conservative and Unionist Associations, St Stephen's Chambers, Westminster, 1905.
2. *The First and Second Administrations of Lord Salisbury, 1885–1892. The Third Salisbury Administration, 1895–1900.* Two vols. By H. Whates. London: Vacher, 1895, 1900.
3. *Essays on Foreign Politics, etc.* By Lord Salisbury. Two vols. London: Murray, 1905.
4. *The Development of the European Nations, 1870–1900.* By J. Holland Rose. London: Constable, 1905.
5. *The Life of Lord Granville.* By Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice. Two vols. London: Longmans, 1905.
6. *Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, 1885–1905.*

'TWENTY Years of Tory Rule' is the title adopted by the Radical press to cover the indictment that it brings against the three Unionist administrations which have held office since 1885. As Lord Rosebery himself admits that Liberals have been out of power for twenty years, we may accept the title as substantially accurate. The administrative history which now comes under review may be described as a drama in two acts, with a prologue and an interlude. The prologue was brief; it covers the short but memorable administration of Lord Salisbury between June 24, 1885, and February 1, 1886. The interlude was played by Mr Gladstone's last Ministry, which took office on August 15, 1892, and, after the retirement of its chief on March 3, 1894, came to a lame and impotent conclusion on June 24, 1895. With the important exception of Sir William Harcourt's democratic budget, the Gladstone-Rosebery Administration left no visible mark upon the political history of the country. The majority of forty, which Mr Gladstone by the strength of his personal influence secured in 1892, was almost grotesquely inadequate to force upon the United Kingdom a constitutional revolution which had been emphatically repudiated in 1886, and was to be still more signally rejected in 1895. The House of Lords, acting strictly within the limits imposed upon its authority by the most

Radical theory, threw out the Home Rule Bill of 1893 with something like contempt, and with more than the tacit approval of the majority of British electors. It is therefore quite true that the period from 1885 until the present day has been moulded and coloured almost exclusively by Unionist hands and in Unionist hues.

Twenty years constitute a considerable slice out of the life of a political generation. It is not so long a period as that which elapsed between the accession to power of Lord John Russell in 1846, after Sir Robert Peel had shattered the old Tory party, and the revival of Conservative ascendancy under Mr Disraeli in 1874; but it is at least as thickly crowded with political events of the first magnitude. In reviewing the long reign of Unionist administrations, we are in effect reviewing the foreign, colonial, and domestic history of England from 1885 to 1906. It is clear that, within the space at our disposal, nothing can be successfully attempted beyond a sketch in rough outline of the more conspicuous features of that eventful period. What Mr Balfour, in his first speech as leader of the new Opposition, said of the latter half of the period under review, may be said almost without exaggeration of the whole twenty years.

'If any one will impartially compare the ten years now concluded with any other decade, be it what it may, in English history, I venture to say that he will not find greater consistency, that he will not find more fruitful unity of idea, that he will not find greater schemes of legislation, that he will not find a more essentially successful foreign policy, than he will find in the ten years which have elapsed from 1895 till December 11, 1905.'

It is a proud but not an arrogant boast; and we believe its truth will be vindicated as soon as it is possible to study the immediate past in a reasonable perspective.

As the character and consequences of our foreign policy are, in their essence, permanent, and as they bear the deepest imprint of personal and collective activity, it is perhaps desirable that we should take the management of foreign affairs as the starting-point of our review.

There has never been a more glaring hallucination than that with which the Radicals console themselves for the triumph of Unionist diplomacy, and which takes

the form of the ludicrous make-believe that Lord Salisbury's foreign policy was plagiarised from Liberalism. There is not the slightest foundation for this fond delusion. The foreign policy of to-day dates from the acceptance of office by Lord Salisbury in June 1885, when his party was in a hopeless minority in the House of Commons. There were many at that time who thought that the acceptance of office in the circumstances was a mistake in tactics, such as that which Mr Disraeli had avoided after Mr Gladstone's defeat on the Irish University Bill in 1873. On that occasion Mr Disraeli used in his peroration glowing words which ought still to be remembered. After dwelling upon the burning questions already making themselves felt, he said :—

I think it is of the utmost importance that when that time, which may be nearer at hand than we imagine, arrives, there shall be in this country a great Constitutional Party, distinguished for its intelligence as well as for its organisation, which shall be competent to lead the people and direct the public mind. And, sir, when that time arrives, and when they enter upon a career which must be noble, and which I hope and believe will be triumphant, I think they may perhaps remember, and not, I trust, with unkindness, that I at least prevented one obstacle from being placed in their way, when, as the trustee of their honour and their interests, I declined to form a weak and discredited Administration.'

But the circumstances of 1885 were different. In 1873 Mr Disraeli foresaw the end of the long night of Whig-Radical ascendancy, and the dawn of a brilliant day for enlightened Conservatism. In 1885, on the contrary, neither Lord Salisbury nor Lord Iddesleigh nor Lord Randolph Churchill really believed in the possibility of another Conservative administration before the close of the nineteenth century. Lord Salisbury himself was actuated in taking office by two considerations, which he expressed freely in private. The first was the terrible tangle of foreign policy, which he thought he could do something to set right ; and the second was that, in view of what seemed the certain prospect of prolonged exclusion from office, it was essential, for the purpose of useful and effective criticism, that he should be master, for at least a few months, of the inner secrets of the Foreign Office, which blue-books and published despatches disguise

rather than reveal. How complicated the general situation was at that time may be shown by a brief extract from Dr Rose's 'Development of the European Nations':—

'How great were these difficulties will be realised by a perusal of the following chapters, which deal with the spread of Nihilism in Russia, the formation of the Austro-German Alliance, and the favour soon shown to it by Italy, the estrangement of England and the Porte owing to the action taken by the former in Egypt, and the sharp collision of interests between Russia and England at Panjdeh on the Afghan frontier. When it is further remembered that France fretted at the untoward results of M. Ferry's forward policy in Tonquin; that Germany was deeply engaged in colonial efforts; and that the United Kingdom was distracted by those efforts, by the failure of the expedition to Khartum, and by the Parnellite agitation in Ireland—the complexity of the European situation will be sufficiently evident. Assuredly the events of the year 1885 were amongst the most distracting ever recorded in the history of Europe' (p. 266).

The notion that Lord Salisbury borrowed from his predecessor the principles which were to govern the conduct of our relations with other Powers for the next twenty years is, as we have already said, a complete hallucination. As a matter of fact, the difficulties which confronted and nearly overwhelmed the second Gladstone Administration were due, not so much to the fact that their foreign policy was bad, as to the fact that they had no foreign policy at all. Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice remarks in his invaluable 'Life of Lord Granville' (ii, 280),

'the Liberal party had been carried into power in 1880 by a great wave of popular enthusiasm against the Eastern policy of Lord Beaconsfield and the ideas of Imperial policy which had got associated with it both in home and foreign affairs.'

It would be more strictly accurate to say that what had been swept away in the deluge caused by Mr Gladstone's torrential eloquence in the Midlothian campaign was not the 'Eastern policy of Lord Beaconsfield,' but the traditional policy of Great Britain. The traditional policy of Great Britain was not the creation of Lord Beaconsfield or his colleagues; it had descended as a sort of political heirloom, bequeathed by Canning to Lord Palmerston, embellished and expanded by that impulsive

statesman, and accepted almost without a protest—except occasionally from Mr Gladstone—by his successors of every party. It is germane to our immediate subject to analyse the genesis and development of what, till 1880, had been the traditional policy of this country.

This policy was based upon an error which, in our judgment, vitiated the diplomacy of Canning and of those who followed in his footsteps. The principle underlying Canning's policy was that the true basis of alliances was not community of interests, but similarity of political sentiments. Palmerston carried out this error—for such it assuredly is—to its logical conclusion. France, for instance, was Liberal; Austria and Russia were despotic; it was therefore, in Palmerston's view, the right policy for Great Britain to shake off the Russian and Austrian alliance and cultivate that of France. At that time the interests of France clashed with ours on almost every coast; those of Russia and Austria, in reality nowhere. It was therefore clearly our interest, as a nation, to maintain that friendship with Russia and Austria which had existed throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, and had contributed more than anything else to maintain peace for some forty years. But Palmerston, true to the Canningite fallacy, allowed himself to be guided by community of sentiment rather than community of interest. He made war with Russia, insulted Austria, and ostensibly made friends with France. In order to baulk and baffle Russia, he and his school set up as a political maxim the independence and integrity of the Turkish empire. Such was the policy accepted in Downing Street as the recognised chart of the Foreign Office.

It was that policy and its inseparable corollaries that Beaconsfield and Salisbury followed when the Near-Eastern question once more threatened to disturb the peace of the world. Whether those ministers could have broken with it if they would, or would have broken with it if they could, is a problem about which much might be said, but which lies outside the scope of this review. That policy was destroyed, not by a responsible Foreign Minister in a responsible Cabinet, but by an ex-minister of great distinction and influence, who, however, when he laid his axe to the root of the tree, was not the recognised leader of the Opposition. It is

not a little strange to find, amongst Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice's candid revelations, that the statesman who in 1878-9 occupied the high and responsible post of elected leader of the Opposition had himself the gravest doubts as to the wisdom of Mr Gladstone's attack upon the traditional policy of the country. To cite only one instance—and there are many—we find in a letter addressed by Lord Hartington to Lord Granville, in the critical month of January 1878, the confession—

'I am not able to condemn altogether the general policy of the Government since the outbreak of the war. I accept the policy of conditional neutrality, and I accept the conditions as well as the neutrality. Faults may be found in details, but it seems to me that they have not departed from a strict neutrality till the conditions were nearly touched; and they have succeeded in convincing the Turks that for them, or for the maintenance of their empire, they [the Government] were not prepared to fight' (ii, 173).

Speaking of the majority of the Liberal party, he adds :

'They, I believe, virtually hold that no English interests in the Black Sea are involved for which we ought to fight. I, on the contrary, think that circumstances may arise in which it would be our duty to fight. My own opinion is that the best course would be that I should, in whatever way may be thought most desirable, resign the leadership and leave my colleagues to take their own course. I do trust that Mr Gladstone may find it in his power to resume the leadership, at all events until this crisis is over. He must be aware that it is he who has formed and guided the opinion of the Liberal party throughout these transactions; and I think that he ought to be at its head. I cannot conceal from myself that I have not been able in this question to lead, but have rather followed a long way behind' (ii, 174).

Mr Gladstone carried the country with him; and one great historic consequence of his eventual victory was the irreparable destruction of the traditional foreign policy of Great Britain. Whether that destruction was a good thing or an evil thing for Great Britain and for the peace of Europe is another of the questions which lie outside the province of this review. Perhaps it might be summed up in the punning judgment attributed to Porson upon Brutus' share in the assassination of Julius Cæsar, '*Nec bene fecit nec male fecit sed interfecit.*' At any

rate it is a truism that, when a great Power abandons its traditional foreign policy, it is bound to discover or create one in its place. That obvious duty was completely neglected by Mr Gladstone's Administration. It had no foreign policy. The utmost which a judicious and friendly historian, Dr Franck Bright, can say in defence or rather in mitigation of sentence, is that Mr Gladstone's policy maintained the concert of Europe. Unfortunately it did nothing of the sort. The second Gladstone Administration came into office on April 28, 1880; and on October 9 we find Lord Granville observing that 'the concert of Europe is gone to the devil.' It is true that he subsequently admitted this racy expression to be exaggerated; but, as a matter of fact, after the qualified success of the puerile Dulcigno demonstration, the concert of Europe almost ceased to exist during the remaining years of Mr Gladstone's Government.

During those five memorable years—memorable chiefly for Britons as years of humiliation and failure—the British Government was, at one time or another, and sometimes simultaneously, at loggerheads with all the great Powers of Europe, and even with the United States. Indeed it fell to the lot of Lord Granville, the most amiable and peace-loving of men, to achieve a feat which, on the face of it, was impossible. He very nearly fell out with Italy, which, in the early stages of the Egyptian crisis, behaved, in Lord Granville's opinion, 'abominably'; and he wrote to a colleague that the Italian Government was 'selling the whole of Europe to the Turks, telling the Turkish ambassador at Rome everything, and holding out all sorts of assurances to the Porte at Constantinople.' To quarrel with Italy required ingenuity almost as malicious and perverted as was attributed to a certain English diplomatist, whom a foreign colleague described as capable of embroiling Great Britain '*dans une guerre maritime avec la Suisse.*' It was because the Government had no policy, rather than because its policy was bad, that it drifted into every kind of difficulty in Egypt and elsewhere. Mr Gladstone himself dimly appreciated this truth when, in a letter written to Lord Granville long after the events (March 12, 1888), he said (ii, 402):—

'In the long and complicated Egyptian business we were for the most part, as I think, drawn on inevitably by a necessity

of honour. It is a slight comfort to me to look back to my prophecy in the House of Commons, I think in 1876 at the time of the Cave Commission, as to the consequence of meddling with Egyptian finance. But we committed the error of sending Gordon, and I think another in landing at Suakin. For neither of these are we blamed as we ought to be.'

The 'slate' which was transferred into Lord Salisbury's hands in 1885 was far indeed from being clean, but it cried aloud for the cleansing sponge; and the disappearance from its surface of the trembling and indecipherable characters scratched upon it during the preceding five years evoked no protest even from the scribblers. The old traditional foreign policy of England, as we have already said, was dead beyond hope of resurrection. Lord Salisbury established, or perhaps it would be more accurate to say revived, the principle upon which the British Empire had been built up. Broadly speaking, that principle imposed upon the Government of the day, and especially upon the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the primary and paramount duty of regarding themselves as trustees for all subjects of the Throne, and of basing their foreign policy exclusively upon consideration for the interests of those for whom they were acting. It was not of course possible to get rid of all past undertakings; but their primary duty was to safeguard and protect the interests of their shareholders.

'Politics,' Lord Salisbury was fond of saying, 'is business'; and the Foreign Secretary is the chief business trustee for all members of the British Empire. Our alliances and understandings must be based upon the paramount consideration of what is good for Great Britain. The theory that Providence has imposed upon this country a special guardianship of oppressed nationalities is partly nonsense and still more largely cant. If we are to believe outside criticism, we have an oppressed nationality at our own doors, with whose alleged wrongs we allow no one to meddle. For Finns, for Poles, for Armenians, and others, oppressed or thinking themselves oppressed by great continental Powers, we are not called upon to interfere; and we ought not to interfere except with the certainty that it will do them more good than harm, and ourselves no harm at all. And how often is it possible to be sure of that?

Nowhere, perhaps, was the new spirit breathed by Lord Salisbury into our foreign policy better illustrated than by his dealings with the Balkan States. When it seemed likely that the treaty of San Stefano would create a larger Bulgaria, which would be a mere satrapy of Russia, he insisted upon a division into two parts, the one practically autonomous, the other under the suzerainty of the Porte. When, however, owing partly to the clumsy brutality of Russian protection, and partly to the genius of Stambuloff, a spirit of uncompromising independence animated the sturdy peasants of Bulgaria, Lord Salisbury perceived at once that a united, independent, and intrepid Bulgaria would prove a stronger barrier to foreign attack upon Constantinople than any treaties or pledges; and he supported with might and main the consolidation of the two Bulgarias. As Dr Rose reminds us, Lord Salisbury summarised the whole case in the arguments he addressed to the Turkish ambassador on December 23, 1885:—

'Every week's experience' (he said) 'showed that the Porte had little to dread from the subserviency of Bulgaria to foreign influence, if only Bulgaria were allowed enjoyment of her unanimous desires, and the Porte did not gratuitously place itself in opposition to the general feeling of the people. A Bulgaria, friendly to the Porte, and jealous of foreign influence, would be a far surer bulwark against foreign aggression than two Bulgarias, severed in administration but united in considering the Porte as the only obstacle to their national development' (p. 272).

From that time forth, Lord Salisbury and his successor have, with the exception noted above, skilfully withdrawn England from the Near-Eastern entanglements in which Palmerstonian policy had involved her. In that part of the world England has ceased to be the victim of crafty intrigues and secret combinations; and, even with regard to Armenia, she stands now merely as a sympathetic member of the European concert. Nor has this change inflamed our relations with Russia. Even while Lord Salisbury was strengthening the barriers in the Balkans, he was settling difficulties with Russia on the Afghan frontier in a spirit of conciliation. He never lost an opportunity of letting Russia know that England was

willing and anxious to arrange, on terms of give and take, every difficulty which threatened to alienate her from the old ally of the early nineteenth century. Turn where we will, we find that for the last twenty years the application of Lord Salisbury's simple principles has operated with the most beneficial results. The harvest of that policy has proved beyond doubt the possibility of combining a firm defence of British material interests with the extension of the right hand of fellowship and friendship to all who will grasp it in good faith.

At no time since the North American colonies seceded have the relations between Great Britain and the United States been so sincerely friendly as they are at this day. Yet, between 1885 and 1905, we have been engaged in more than one serious controversy with the United States, which, badly managed, might have involved disastrous consequences. In none of these cases has there been any disposition to betray British interests, while, on the other hand, there has been a frankly-expressed desire to settle difficulties in a generous and conciliatory spirit as between friendly and honourable neighbours.

Equally successful and even more remarkable has been the outcome of the application of the same methods in our dealings with France. Within the years under review, crises have occurred of the gravest character, brought about by the clash of conflicting interests, or what were supposed to be such, in more than one continent; and yet, at the end of it all, while British interests have remained unimpaired, we have substituted for the natural enmity of centuries the closest and most cordial friendship with the Republic. It is true that our relations with Germany are not as satisfactory as the interests of both Powers and consideration for the tranquillity of the world would require. But it seems to have been forgotten that it was long before 1885 that the German press, whether inspired or not, attacked England with great violence. In a letter written in the autumn of 1882, addressed, as Lord Edmond tells us, 'to a highly placed personage,' and communicated to Lord Granville, Prince Bismarck used, *inter alia*, these remarkable words:—

'I am not yet thoroughly well informed in regard to the causes of the violent antagonism of a great part of our German press against England. When it is not merely the

innate German tendency always to "find fault" and to "know better," I am inclined to think that it is partly due to the financial sorrows of great financiers connected with the larger newspapers, and partly to the large sums of money expended by the French, and the still larger sums of money expended by the Russians to bribe the German press.'

The explanation may provoke a smile, but the facts are admitted. In Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice's 'Life of Lord Granville' may be found reiterated proofs of the bitter hostility to England fostered in Germany, not without the countenance of Prince Bismarck. Let one suffice. It is taken from a despatch of Lord Ampthill, better known as Lord Odo Russell, to Lord Granville in August 1884 (ii, 358) :—

'I am in perfect despair at Prince Bismarck's present inclination to increase his popularity before the general election by taking up an anti-English attitude. Compelled by the colonial mania, which has gradually come to the surface in Germany, to act contrary to his better convictions in the Angra-Pequena question, he has discovered an unexplored mine of popularity in starting a colonial policy, which public opinion persuades itself to be anti-English; and the slumbering theoretic envy of the Germans at our wealth and freedom has awakened and taken the form of abuse of everything English in the press.'

Lord Granville frequently complained that 'Bismarck hates Gladstone'; and the last words addressed to him by Lord Ampthill (ii, 363) revealed one cause of the Anglophobia prevailing in high quarters in Germany :—

'The progress of democracy in England is a cause of very serious alarm to the Sovereigns and the Governments; and they purpose to meet it by consolidating the Monarchical League.'

When Lord Salisbury took office, he applied the same methods to our relations with Germany which proved ultimately so successful in the cases of France and the United States; but he did not meet with a like response. If it takes two to make a quarrel, it also takes two to make up a quarrel. In Africa, in the Pacific, and above all in the negotiations which terminated with the cession of Heligoland—a wise cession but very unpopular at the time—Lord Salisbury demonstrated to Germany that with Germans, as with all other nationalities, he was prepared,

while stoutly defending British interests, to make as great and graceful concessions as regard for the duties of his trust permitted. In spite of much provocation, both with regard to British ascendancy in South Africa, and our position in Egypt, where Germany had no real interests comparable with those of England, France, and Italy, he succeeded in avoiding an open quarrel with Germany. It may, however, be remarked, without reopening old sores, that not a tithe of the official and semi-official intrigues of Germany in South Africa, especially with President Kruger, has yet been made public.

Lord Salisbury's motto, which he impressed upon all who came within his influence, was 'Never nag unless you mean to fight.' Probably the most unpopular period of his career as Foreign Minister was that during which he acted upon this motto in the complications arising out of the annexation of Kiaochow by Germany, and the fortification of Port Arthur by Russia. There is a myth, which has assumed the dignity of a fact, to the effect that Lord Salisbury, on an insolent demand from Russia, ordered the British warships out of Port Arthur. A reference to the blue-books of the time will show that there is not a word of truth in this legend. On the only occasion on which M. de Staal called Lord Salisbury's attention to the presence of British ships in Port Arthur, Lord Salisbury vindicated their right to be there, acknowledging that he himself was ignorant of their presence; and, on communicating with Mr Goschen, then First Lord of the Admiralty, he found that the vessels in question had entered the port on the unquestionable authority of the British admiral, and had left it spontaneously some two days before the Russian protest was made. If he did not resent the assumption which appeared to underlie that protest, it was because he was actively engaged at the time in discovering a *modus vivendi* with Russia, and was in hopes that it could be found—hopes which, it is true, were doomed to be disappointed when, after securely planting herself in Port Arthur, Russia dropped the negotiations. While refusing to be driven into war with Russia on the question of China, he insisted upon respect for the principle of the 'open door,' which constitutes the main interest of Great Britain in the Far East. It was in the same spirit and with the same object that Lord

Lansdowne negotiated the first Anglo-Japanese treaty, which saved the rest of the world from being dragged into the late war, and signed the second Anglo-Japanese treaty, which promises to preserve the Far East from further struggles for ascendancy for many years to come.

Looking back across the last twenty years, it is impossible not to be struck by the great results achieved. Leaving South Africa aside for a moment, we perceive that the defence of British interests in every part of the world has been immeasurably strengthened, and that not only without recourse to arms, but *pari passu* with increasing friendliness with our neighbours.

If we turn to the internal policy of the empire, to the relations between the mother-country and her colonies, we shall read a story of healthy and continuous progress, as creditable as the chapter of foreign policy. Modern Radicals, other than those who profess and call themselves Little-Englanders, are very sensitive to any references to their past attitude towards the colonies. The indictment of that attitude is as old as the famous speech delivered by Disraeli at the Crystal Palace on June 24, 1872, in which he enunciated the fundamental principles of the Conservative party :—

‘Gentlemen’ (he said), ‘there is another and second great object of the Tory party. If the first is to maintain the institutions of the country, the second is, in my opinion, to maintain the Empire of England. If you look to the history of this country since the advent of Liberalism, forty years ago, you will find that there has been no effort so continuous, so subtle, supported by so much energy, and carried on with so much ability and acumen, as the attempts of Liberalism to effect the disintegration of the Empire. And, gentlemen, of all its efforts, this is the one which has been the nearest to success. Statesmen of the highest character, writers of the most distinguished ability, the most organised and efficient means, have been employed in this endeavour.’

That this indictment was grounded upon fact, no one can doubt who is familiar with the opinions and sayings of leading Radicals during the years between 1847 and 1865. But we have only to refer to the ‘Life of Lord Granville,’ to find that the leadership of Mr Gladstone made no

change in Radical policy in this respect. The biographer of Lord Granville remarks :—

'The affairs of the colonies, and their relations with the mother-country, have been the subject of so much discussion in recent years, that it may be difficult to realise that there was once a time when they were a matter of considerable indifference. Yet already in 1869 the first signs of a change were to be noticed in the order of ideas which had caused statesmen, not of one party only, to look forward placidly to the day when the colonies would move in orbits entirely their own' (ii, 20).

It is clear that Mr Gladstone's first Colonial Secretary shared the views of these placid disintegrators ; for, in a letter to Lord Russell, Lord Granville wrote :—

'Theoretically you assume that I wish to get rid of Canada, Australia, and India. Our relations with North America are of a very delicate character. The best solution of them would probably be that, in the course of time, and in the most friendly spirit, the Dominion should find itself strong enough to proclaim her independence.' But, he went on, 'there was no present question of anything of the kind ; and as to the position of India [which Lord Russell had also mentioned], it was an entirely distinct question from that of the English-speaking colonies of our own race' (ii, 22).

In commenting upon this correspondence with Lord Russell, Lord Granville, in a letter to Mr Gladstone, said :

'Johnny Russell wrote a violent criticism to me on my colonial policy, in which he compared himself to Oliver Cromwell and Chatham, and me to Lord North and George Grenville. I replied much too good-humouredly, my private secretary thinks ; and I have had a rejoinder in which, amongst other things, he says, "That which I wish to see is a Colonial Representative Assembly, sitting apart from our Lords and Commons, voting us supplies in aid for our navy and army, and receiving in return assurances of support from the Queen. Shall we immortalise your Administration by proposing this ? "'

In such jesting spirit did the Cabinet of Mr Gladstone deal with the problems of Imperial consolidation. Even so friendly a critic of Liberal administrations as Dr Bright is constrained to tell us in his last volume :—

'It was indeed becoming obvious that events had rendered the old view, held by the Liberals with regard to colonial affairs, impossible. It is somewhat difficult to trace a consistent line in the colonial policy of Mr Gladstone's Ministry. But there would appear to have been at the bottom of it a desire to be free from colonial complications, and to leave the Colonies to shift for themselves when once endowed with constitutional institutions. If the idea of thus eluding the responsibilities of empire existed, events were on all sides tending to secure its disappointment.'

It is only fair to state that no slight share of credit for the revival of the Imperial idea must be attributed to two members of the Radical party—Lord Rosebery and the late Mr W. E. Forster—whose views, however, were very distasteful to the majority of Mr Gladstone's followers. But it was not till the reconstruction of the Unionist Government, after the crushing defeat sustained by the Radicals in 1895, that effect was given to the Imperial aspirations of which the nucleus is to be found in the speech of Lord Beaconsfield quoted above.

Hitherto, with but a few remarkable exceptions, the Colonial Office had been regarded either as a stepping-stone to advancement or as an asylum for angular statesmen who could not be fitted conveniently into the round or square holes of the Administration. Mr Chamberlain's selection of the Colonial Office altered all that. The Jubilee celebration of 1887 offered a unique opportunity for what may be called the ceremonial baptism of the new policy. A series of conferences was held, in which the great questions which had to be solved were discussed, not only with a view to local federation, but in relation to some wider scheme of Imperial unity. Scoffers ridiculed the academic debates and affectionate demonstrations in honour of the colonial Premiers, as merely an unreal pageant arranged to enhance Mr Chamberlain's position in the Unionist Government; but that was not the impression carried away by the colonial representatives who had been invited to take part in an historic demonstration of Imperial unity. It is true that, beyond arranging for a repetition of these unifying conferences, no immediate practical results were recorded or, perhaps, even desired; but the seed that was sown in the years immediately following Mr Chamberlain's appointment to the Colonial Office was to yield a fruitful harvest.

when the mother-country found herself in straits in the earlier stages of the war in South Africa. Then, with one accord, the colonies, without bargaining or attempting to make terms, sent their best manhood to the assistance of the mother-country. Probably no event in the eventful century which closed in war, as it had begun in war, so impressed the outer world with the extent and power of British Imperial resources as did this spontaneous rally to the standard of the English-speaking subjects of the Queen in every quarter of the globe.

It would be out of place here to dwell in any detail upon the causes, the conduct, and the conclusion of the South African war. Radicals, trading upon the general and discreditable ignorance of Englishmen with regard to the conditions of their own colonies, attributed to Mr Chamberlain almost exclusive responsibility for the struggle with the Boers. Yet we have only to turn to the biographies of Sir Harry Smith, Sir George Grey, and Sir Bartle Frere, to learn that far-seeing men, with personal experience of South African politics, were convinced during many decades that, unless the two antagonistic systems prevailing in South Africa were reconciled, or unless the British ideal took unquestioned precedence of the Dutch ideal, a conflict was inevitable. Sir George Grey, so long ago as 1858, had impressed upon Downing Street the dangers which must inevitably result unless South Africa was federated under the paramount authority of Great Britain. At that time the Orange Free State had, by resolution of the Volksraad, proposed her union by federation or otherwise with the Cape Colony; and there was every reason to believe that the South African Republic would have followed the example of its neighbour. For tendering this sane advice, Sir George Grey was recalled by one Government, and was only reinstated by its successor on the express condition that he never mentioned the word federation again. Twenty years later, on August 28, 1879, Sir Bartle Frere, the victim subsequently offered up with pharasaical unction as a sacrifice on the altar of Liberal unity, uttered a warning, which is as true to-day as it was when it was penned, to Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, then Colonial Secretary:—

‘They [the bitter anti-English opposition] are sedulously courting the Dutch party, and swaying the lower Dutch (the

great majority of the Cape Dutchmen) to swell the already considerable minority who are disloyal to the English Crown here and in the Transvaal, and who would prefer a Holland (i.e. remember, a *German*) government or protectorate in the Transvaal to an English one, and a republic here to a dominion under the English Crown. . . . We are meantime drifting into very awkward relations with these colonies. What you are now doing seems to be uncomfortably like what was done more than a century ago when we drove the American colonies into war and forcible separation. From the Treaty of Paris in 1763 to the end of the War of Independence in 1783, it took twenty years for the quarrel to arise and culminate and be fought out in desperation. We do things faster nowadays. The whole history of causes of difference—the character of the disputes between the British Government and the States, and the mode in which they were carried on, were, *mutatis mutandis*, very like the storm now brewing. I wish you to be warned in time, and having warned you I have done my duty.'

Between the disappointment of Sir Bartle Frere's hopes and ambitions and the arrival of Mr Chamberlain at the Colonial Office, there arose for the first time in South Africa a great statesman, heartily loyal to the British flag, who strove patiently for many years, and with a large measure of success, to weld Dutch and English into one people, federated and autonomous for all South African purposes, but linked with bonds of steel to the British Empire. But even the patience and the genius of Cecil Rhodes broke itself in vain against the stubborn obstinacy of President Kruger, who was himself but a tool in the hands of a rapacious clique of Hollander adventurers. The Raid was a deplorable incident, but only an incident, in connexion with a revolutionary movement which had been organised and developed long before Mr Chamberlain went to the Colonial Office. The monstrous attempt to fix a charge of guilty connivance upon Mr Chamberlain was one of the most disreputable episodes in the annals of party bitterness, and contributed in no small degree to President Kruger's insane determination to fight.

It is not well known, but it is an indisputable fact, that even after the failure of the Bloemfontein negotiations, and of the supplementary overtures made by Lord Milner, there would have been no war, at all events in

1899, had not Kruger himself declared it. Lord Salisbury, influenced by his own pacific nature, and above all by the passionate anxiety of Queen Victoria that her happy reign should close in peace, would have refused to make war on Kruger or to send him such an ultimatum as would have left him no alternative between war and humiliation. Lord Salisbury's intention was so to strengthen the military forces in South Africa as to render impossible any attempt on the part of foreign Powers to take advantage of the strained relations between the suzerain and the South African Republic, to secure the safety of the Cape and Natal, and at the same time to protect the Outlanders against any arbitrary and oppressive treatment by their autocratic ruler. But Kruger, confident, and, as events proved, not unjustifiably confident, in his powers of resistance, determined to put it to the touch, and to hazard all for the object of his life—the creation of a Dutch South African Empire.

Inevitable as was the war, it was well that Kruger's folly should have brought it on. The question, which of the two systems should prevail in South Africa, was ripe for settlement. At the same time it is true, and cannot be too frequently or too strongly impressed upon the electors, that it was the more than ambiguous attitude of a portion of the Radical Opposition at home that protracted the war after the capture of Johannesburg and Pretoria. A very prominent citizen of the Orange Free State said openly—he was then a war prisoner at Simonstown—that the men were still alive and active in British politics who had forced Mr Gladstone, with a powerful majority at his back, to conclude a capitulation after the defeat of Majuba. He cited the names of Mr Leonard Courtney and Mr John Morley; and he produced epitomes of the speeches of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, Sir William Harcourt, and others, printed on slips of paper for circulation amongst the Boers.

One thing at least is certain, and that is that the whole current of Imperial feeling at home and abroad has been changed during the twenty memorable years of Tory rule. All parties, with but few notable exceptions, are committed to an ideal of an empire autonomous in so far as the greater colonies are concerned, but knitted together by the strongest ties which sentiment and a

realisation of the magnitude of our common interests can imagine and devise. There may be, and indeed there are, marked divergences of opinion as to the roads which should be followed; but there is practical unanimity as to the goal to be attained. It is not within the scope of this review to analyse, and still less to pronounce judgment upon, the different lines of march which have been suggested; but it cannot be gainsaid that the policy of the last twenty years has called out of the land of dreams into the sphere of practical politics a grand and comprehensive Imperial idea.

Two subjects still remain to be touched upon. One of these justified, and still justifies, the maintenance of the Unionist alliance called into existence by Mr Gladstone's revolutionary proposals with regard to Ireland in the year 1886. In the last appeal which Lord Beaconsfield was destined to address to the electorate, he used language prophetic in its character and most appropriate to be recalled at this moment. Writing on March 9, 1880, to the Duke of Marlborough, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, he dwelt sorrowfully on the sufferings of the Irish people, then exceptionally severe, and went on to say:—

'Nevertheless a danger in its ultimate results scarcely less disastrous than pestilence and famine, and one which now engages your Excellency's anxious attention, distracts that country. A portion of its population is attempting to sever the constitutional tie which unites it to Great Britain in that bond which has favoured the power and prosperity of both. It is to be hoped that all men of light and leading will resist this destructive doctrine. The strength of this nation depends upon the unity of feeling which should pervade the United Kingdom and its widespread dependencies. The first duty of an English minister should be to consolidate that co-operation which renders irresistible a community educated as our own in an equal love of liberty and law. And yet there are some who challenge the expediency of the Imperial character of this realm. Having attempted and failed to enfeeble our colonies by their policy of decomposition, they may perhaps now recognise in the disintegration of the United Kingdom a mode which will not only accomplish but precipitate their purpose. The immediate dissolution of Parliament will afford an opportunity to the nation to decide upon a course which will materially influence its future fortune and shape its destiny.'

Twenty-five years ago this solemn warning of a veteran statesman on the brink of the grave was treated as a mere bogey, just as to-day a similar warning, not proclaimed by statesmen alone but finding a voice in the indisputable facts of the day, is scouted by the same short-sighted partisans. The fundamental and vitiating error of Mr Gladstone's Irish policy, ever since he laid his axe in 1868 at the roots of what he described as the 'upas tree of Irish discontent,' was that he invariably placed a premium upon anarchy by granting to outrage and lawlessness what he denied to argument and supplication. In the recently published 'Recollections' of Mr William O'Brien it is easy to trace the demoralising effect of Mr Gladstone's confession that the disestablishment of the Irish Church was the response to the 'ringing of the chapel bell'—that convenient euphemism for the blowing-up of Clerkenwell jail. Whatever Mr Gladstone's real motives were, the Irish people, and even so unimaginative a leader as Parnell, accepted and acted on the most sinister interpretation that those mischievous words could bear. For the so-called boons conferred by Mr Gladstone, with vicarious generosity, on the people of Ireland, he and England received just the same measure of gratitude as the footpad grants to the timorous victim who gives up his purse in response to the demand, 'Your money or your life!' Measures good and bad, just and unjust, were all tainted by the poison of pusillanimous concession. With brutal candour, Parnell told his fellow-countrymen that they could never extort from Mr Gladstone any concession except by the means which the Boers employed to wrench their independence from him on Majuba Hill.

In 1880 Mr Gladstone had learned nothing and had forgotten everything—so far, at least, as Ireland was concerned. In spite of Lord Beaconsfield's warning, no serious reference to the deplorable condition of Ireland occurred in the first Queen's Speech drafted by Mr Gladstone after his return to power. Within a year from that date, Parliament was plunged again into the abyss of fruitless Irish discussion; and outrage, though met by stringent coercion, was allowed to extort its price before coercion had had a chance of restoring respect for the law. The Unionist policy for which Mr Balfour was mainly conspicuous, and in the prosecution of which he

displayed such signal ability, such splendid courage, and so resourceful an administrative capacity, was to put down relentlessly all defiance of those laws which are the bed-rock of civilised society. In order to demonstrate to the world at large, and to Irishmen in particular, that just and necessary measures of amelioration were not granted as a sop to law-breakers and outrage-mongers, he suppressed the leagues and punished the malefactors, with the result that the Queen's writs again ran as freely in Kerry and Clare as in Kent, and that lowly subjects were again able to go about their business and retire to their beds at night without the haunting fear that the assassin and the mutilator were dogging their steps. When he gave up the responsible post which had broken the peace and shortened the lives of so many of his predecessors, he had made it possible for his successors to remedy real evils, to deal generously with exaggerated grievances, and to pursue a policy of conciliation which bore no trace of being proffered as a bribe for votes or as a ransom from lawlessness. The ameliorative Irish measures by which the Unionist Administrations of 1886-1905 will be remembered, unlike those associated with the name of Mr Gladstone, strengthened instead of weakening the bonds of union, and should have satisfied all reasonable Irishmen, not aiming at the impossible, that England could be generous as well as just.

With regard to internal affairs, limits of space forbid our entering into detail; but this record of Unionist achievements would be incomplete without some reference to the domestic legislation which the Unionist Government has placed upon the Statute-book. It comprises more than one measure which has ameliorated the conditions of British and Irish social life.

In Ireland, the grant of local self-government and the far-reaching extension of the policy of creating peasant proprietors redeemed the promise made by Unionists that Ireland should not be the loser by the refusal of Parliament to concede Home Rule. At the bottom of Irish discontent lay, as Fintan Lalor discovered fifty years ago, and as Michael Davitt rediscovered more recently, bitter dissatisfaction with the agrarian system in vogue. No Home-Rule Government in Ireland could have revolutionised that system as a British Unionist Administration

has done—unless, indeed, it had had recourse to violent and wholesale confiscation. It was the unlimited credit of the Imperial exchequer, and of that alone, which enabled Mr Balfour and Mr George Wyndham to substitute, for the impracticable and dangerous system of dual ownership created by Mr Gladstone, a scheme whereby the tenants of Ireland could become owners of the soil they tilled. The establishment of a Department of Agriculture and Technical Education has led to improvements in agricultural methods, a dissemination of useful knowledge, and a growth of co-operation, which will, if not checked by sinister agitation, enable the emancipated farmers to make the fullest use of the property which the Land Purchase Act has enabled them to acquire. The extension of local self-government to Ireland, on lines resembling those followed in England and Scotland, has achieved greater success, and has produced fewer failures, than the most sanguine anticipated. It has done more than this; for it has implanted in the minds of the Irish peasant class the germs of a sense of collective responsibility of which they had hitherto been destitute.

In England and Scotland the assimilation of the system of county government to that enjoyed by the cities and towns was the natural and inevitable result of the extension of household suffrage to the non-urban population. The creation of a great municipal authority in London was also an inevitable experiment; but it was and is admittedly an experiment still upon its trial. In the matter of education, the greatest of all reforms took place when elementary education was made free by the Education Act of 1891. Mr Balfour's later Acts, and the bitter sectarian controversy which they raised, are too fresh in the memory of the public to demand more than a reference. No educational legislation in a country constituted like our own can fail, as the Radicals are likely to find to their cost, to arouse bitter dissension amongst the various sects which compete with the Established Church for the guidance of religious opinion in Great Britain. The so-called Nonconformist grievance is an artificial and manufactured grievance; but it is none the less effective for the purpose of embarrassing and even baffling any serious endeavour to co-ordinate in England the various grades of education. That work

has been accomplished under the greatest difficulties; and it remains to be seen how far the new Government will venture to disturb its operation. The conversion of the National Debt by Mr Goschen constituted one of the greatest financial achievements recorded in our annals for upwards of sixty years. In measures dealing with the welfare of the working classes the Unionists have a record in Factory Acts, in Sanitary Acts, in Acts providing compensation for the injured, which compares most favourably with the list of unredeemed promises that Radical candidates have so often dangled before the eyes of popular constituencies.

We have cited but a very few of the great legislative enactments which will be associated in history with the long tenure of power by successive Unionist Administrations. If they stood alone—as they do not—they would still form an ample defence for the Tory party, which constitutes some four-fifths of the Unionist forces, against the charge of lacking will or courage in the initiation of necessary reforms. To those whose pleasure it has been to tender a loyal and discriminating support to the general policy of the Unionist leaders since that memorable period at which Unionism came into existence, it is most satisfactory to look back upon the record of these twenty eventful years, and to recognise gratefully that the achievements of the Unionist party in the spheres of foreign and colonial policy and of domestic legislation and administration have been in complete harmony with the principles upon which the Unionist alliance was based. It was born a defensive force; it has succeeded in its task by the only means which can make defence really effective, namely, by becoming a creative power, not content with merely repelling attack, but determined to erect a chain of fortresses which shall render future invasion impossible. The Unionist Governments from 1886 to 1905 can proudly claim that they succeeded not only in resisting the forces of disintegration and decomposition, but also in so encouraging and strengthening the principles of Imperial unity and national integrity as to enable them to contemplate future attacks with equanimity.

It would seem from the Prime Minister's provisional programme unfolded at the Albert Hall, that some at

least of the most useful legislative and administrative work accomplished by the Unionists is to be undone. Whereas Mr Balfour and his predecessors devoted much anxious thought and incurred no little unpopularity on the score of expense in building up the defensive forces of the empire, we are given to understand that Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman intends to return to the habits of the old cheese-paring days. Perhaps amongst the greatest of Mr Balfour's personal achievements was the creation of a Committee of Imperial Defence, which not only collected the confidential views of the most distinguished experts, but had them recorded in Minutes; so that, for the first time in our history, there might be amidst changing Cabinets a continuous narrative of the measures taken and of the conditions and requirements of the forces by which the empire is defended. On that subject the Prime Minister maintained an ominous silence; and, as he has consistently denounced the existence of such a committee as unconstitutional and incompatible with Cabinet responsibility, he may think fit to destroy, by a stroke of the pen, this most important addition to our security. What is more, the Prime Minister announced his intention of reducing the expenditure on the army and the navy, and relying on the growth of the principle of arbitration, forsooth, to maintain the peace of the world. In times like the present, no more dangerous pronouncement could have been made. Let us take care, by all means, that we get our money's worth; let us have no more Army Stores scandals; but let us not, in the face of danger, cut down the forces which, so far as the army is concerned, have been declared by the highest authorities to be inadequate, and, in the case of the navy, cannot be regarded as more than sufficient. Never was the ancient adage more true, 'Si vis pacem, para bellum.' That is not militarism; it is common-sense. We rejoice to see that Mr Haldane, in his first public pronouncement as Secretary for War, has done his best to remove the bad impression caused by the ill-advised utterances of his chief.

There is this peculiarity about the Albert Hall programme which differentiates it from similar pronouncements: it asserted a determination to do something which the Government had no intention of doing, and to leave

undone something which the Government will be obliged to undertake. There was a promise—or so it was understood by a loudly applauding audience—to put a stop to Chinese labour in South Africa. What ministers might have known before, and what they certainly know by this time, is the truth that they could not redeem these pledges without reducing South Africa to bankruptcy and driving Boer and Briton alike into secession. It was meant to be understood, and it was so understood, that Home Rule is not to figure on any bill of fare in the coming Parliament; but the flagrant and undisguised compact with the Irish Nationalists, and the unwithdrawn and unqualified pledges given at Stirling, will, in a very short time, prove too strong for this self-imposed abstinence. It is not more futile to cry 'Peace, peace!' when there is no peace, than it is to shout 'No Home Rule Bill' when there must be a Home Rule Bill. They may call it by what fancy name they please; it may be presented as an 'instalment of the regular policy,' or it may be latinised into Devolution; but it will be the same separatist imposture which Unionists successfully opposed through three memorable elections. Again, if the Prime Minister means what his words convey to the average intelligence, he is about to apply the illogical and impracticable plan of Local Option to solve both the temperance problem and that of education. To map the country out into minute districts, in one of which the wishes of parents with regard to the religious training of their children is to be recognised, while in the next the vote of the 'odd man' is to nullify parental wishes, or to make it a crime to drink in one parish and to allow every man to drink as he likes in the next, is not a policy; it is the nightmare of political dyspepsia. Let Unionists contrast this impossible programme with the record of work accomplished during the last twenty years, and they may enter upon the impending contest in a spirit of cheerfulness and sanguine hope.